

AUGUST 11, 2003

# The American Conservative

## Death of Manufacturing

By Patrick J. Buchanan

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### How Free Trade Imperils America

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## DEBATING SOLZHENITSYN

What sort of "conservative" publication would allow a reviewer to describe Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* as "almost a relic" whose "credibility ... was undermined" (Aug. 11)? This book is one of the masterpieces of the 20th century, not only because of its entirely true revelation of the horrors of the labor-camp system in the USSR—which the reviewer in question, Richard Cummings, goes on to validate in his own descriptions (so that at least he doesn't join forces with leftist "Gulag deniers" whose agenda in attacking Solzhenitsyn is to protect their beloved communism)—but because of its sustained prophetic tone and profound satiric humor. What is "experimental" about it is precisely this importation of the prophetic voice into 20th-century literature.

After *The Gulag Archipelago* there was no excuse for anyone to maintain even an iota of positive attitude towards communism. And Mr. Cummings thinks that only now, with Anne Applebaum's book, there is "no excuse"? Is he kidding? Neither Applebaum—whose book is fine, but uncalled for given *The Gulag Archipelago*—nor Mr. Cummings is worthy of tying Solzhenitsyn's shoe laces. He is one of the moral and literary giants of our time.

JONATHAN CHAVES  
Washington, D.C.

### Richard Cummings responds:

In response to Jonathan Chaves's comments about my review of Anne Applebaum's *Gulag: A History*, Paul Lewis, in his obituary of Solzhenitsyn's former wife Natalya Reshetovskaya (*New York Times*, June 6, 2003), points out, "[S]he was 'perplexed' that the West had accepted 'The Gulag Archipelago' as 'the solemn, ultimate truth,' saying its significance had been 'overestimated and

wrongly appraised.'" Reshetovskaya insisted, with considerable justification, that Solzhenitsyn did not regard the work as "historical research, or scientific research." Lewis quotes her as saying that *The Gulag Archipelago* was a collection of "camp folklore," containing "raw material" that Solzhenitsyn was, according to the obituary, "planning to use in his future productions." Whether or not *The Gulag Archipelago* qualifies as literature in a fictional sense is not the issue. It is not history.

As for what sort of publication this is, it is conservative, not totalitarian. *AC* does not expect anyone to tie anyone else's shoe laces, believing as it does in the dignity of the individual. Solzhenitsyn is perfectly capable of tying his own laces.

## IN PRAISE OF FREE LOVE

Thank you for publishing the wonderful article by Sam Torode (Aug. 11). To willfully intend to block the procreative (life-giving) aspect of the marital act will interfere with the unitive (love-giving) aspect as well. The dramatic increase in divorce rates after the birth-control pill was introduced in this country should give reasonable individuals cause to reflect that maybe the Catholic Church was right on this one all along. Natural family planning (which is not the rhythm method) is a practical option for those couples that would like to experience the open embrace and "free love" that Mr. Torode so eloquently described and yet may have serious reasons for delaying a pregnancy.

CHRIS ZAINER PATTISON, M.D.  
Wauwatosa, Wis.

## BEYOND LAW & ORDER

Roger Scruton's article "Guarding Liberty From Democracy" (June 16) makes some pertinent points, using as a springboard Fareed Zakaria's argument that law and order are necessary before

democracy can work. But there is more.

Zakaria is right, as far as he goes, but law and order are not enough. The Cheka and the Nazi Party imposed order but formed no basis for democracy. What is also necessary is a culture in which fairness is well rooted, in which a man is judged not by his power or wealth but by how he treats other people.

This is deeply founded in human nature, as most ordinary people in the West believe and as has been shown by recent experimental work in which it became clear that people will act to their own loss rather than let another get away with unfair behavior. Around the world in many very different cultures, the same is true. It is not true in all cultures; for example, the Celts, many Arabs, and the Greeks have suffered military and political (and cultural) losses because they cannot resist betrayal, as is shown by their folk tales and literature as well as history. In the long run, a culture that does not value fairness is working against itself and will suffer decline.

In most countries in the West, ordinary people do value fairness. The political and business classes, however, do not. In these conditions, and given that such men typically despise knowledge and restraint, there is little to be preferred in the visible "elite." We have less and less of "the rule of law, not of men."

Democracy, in present circumstances, is barely still in existence. First we need to re-awaken the idea of fairness if the admirable qualities of democracy are to survive.

RODERICK REES  
Woodinville, Wash.

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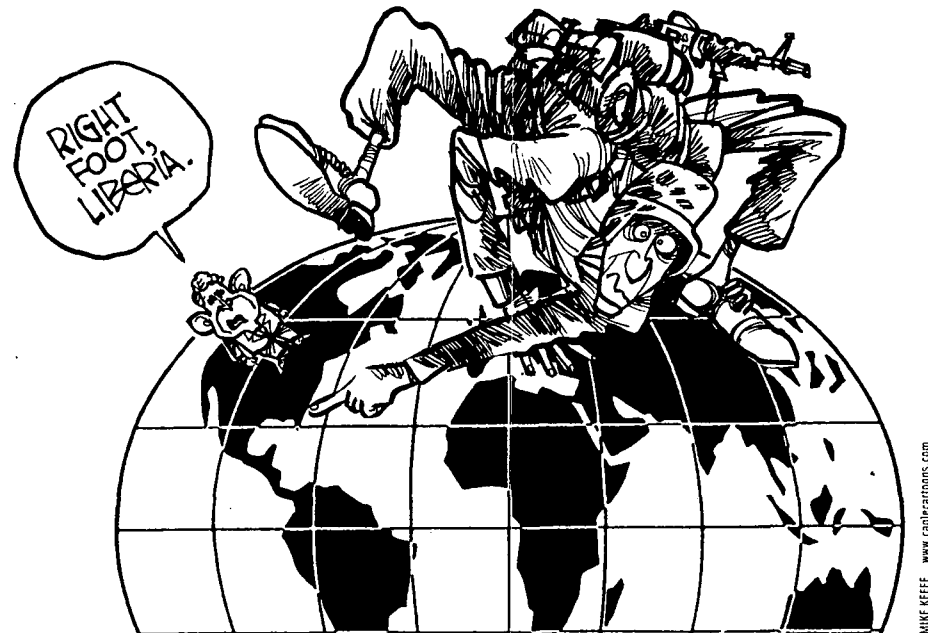
## LIBERATE LIBERIA?

As the U.S. overlooks something between involvement and intervention in war-ravaged Liberia, if ever there were a case to be made for humanitarian "liberation," it would have a Monrovia address. Two decades of bloodshed later, a generation has grown up in the tyrant's grip. "I agree that I spoiled it," President Charles Taylor admitted in 1997. But entering another country—no matter how oppressed the population or benevolent the motive—isn't without risk and responsibility. "To intervene on humanitarian grounds is to go to war and, more important still, to conquer or—to put the matter yet more starkly—to colonize," David Rieff wrote in the *Wall Street Journal*.

In Iraq, we came late to altruistic justification. In the run up to war, had Saddam complied with Resolution 1441 and coughed up those elusive WMDs, he could have theoretically averted invasion. "If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm ... we will lead a coalition to disarm him," President Bush said in his State of the Union address. Implied, however uncomfortable, is the probability that the administration could not have sold war to stop Saddam's gruesome hobbies had he mothballed his arsenal. Or so the logic went, for had human rights violations alone been *casus belli*, we needn't have waited for Blix & Co.

But as the security rationale grows increasingly murky, talk of mass graves grows louder. One just arriving to the discussion might believe our Iraqi operation was solely humanitarian. And if this is true, we have no reason *not* to march on Liberia—and Saudi Arabia, Sudan, North Korea, and China while we're at it.

Sweeping Taylor out would, like the toppling of Saddam's statue, be an entry rather than an end. Unless Liberia is rebuilt under American guidance, another



despot will rise in his place. And if we take on the reconstruction, we add another expensive dependent to a roster already growing long. Rieff again, "If we are going to intervene, let us understand the project that we must engage in, which is not just humanitarian intervention, nor even nation-building, but the de facto recolonization of some of the most unfortunate parts of the world. To do this, we must acquire all the trappings of an imperial bureaucracy, by whatever name we choose to conceal it ..."

[POLITICS]

## PRICEY COMPASSION

On July 11, we observed one of the secular calendar's more dubious moveable feasts: Cost of Government Day. This "holiday" marks the point in the year when Americans start working for their families and stop working for the State. This year it came four days later than in 2002—and has advanced 17 days in the last three years alone. Americans, therefore, work more than half the year—and sacrifice 53 percent of national income—just to pay for government spending and regulation.

This expansion of government has coincided almost exactly with George W. Bush's presidency. Indeed, *USA Today* reports that Bill Clinton was a more effective government-cutter than

his Republican successor! To his credit, Bush has pushed for tax relief, but fiscal conservatism requires reduced spending and balanced budgets as well. One out of three ain't good.

For decades, conservatives have defined themselves in part by their desire to roll back the New Deal and Great Society. But the present agenda includes, *inter alia*, a prescription-drug program and a White House proposal to include Mexican workers in Social Security. In other words, with the historic coincidence of a Republican president and a Republican Congress, the best we can do is create a new entitlement and extend an old one to a foreign country. On the eve of Cost of Government Day, Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas) said, "[W]e are now experiencing the end of a vocal limited-government movement in our nation's capital." He may well be right.

[LAW]

## BREYER v. CONSTITUTION

In a recent appearance on ABC's, "This Week," Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer launched a constitutional assault more fearsome than his recent rulings: "Through commerce, through globalization, through the spread of democratic institutions, through immigration to America, it's becoming more and more one world of many different kinds of

people. And how they're going to live together across the world will be the challenge, and whether our Constitution and how it fits into the governing documents of other nations, I think will be a challenge for the next generations."

Comes the obvious question: why would our Constitution need to suit the dimensions of other nations' governmental guideposts? And, for that matter, why should Americans accept its mutation in service of a global fantasy? That anyone would consider the Constitution so malleable is distressing. But for one of the nine entrusted with keeping its integrity to entertain publicly "whether our Constitution" shows disqualifying contempt for his oath.

#### [IMMIGRATION]

### THE OTHER WASHINGTON

The Brookings Institution has released a study based on year 2000 Census data, and the news for Washington, DC is mixed. On the plus side, only San Francisco boasts a higher percentage of college graduates. And the news gets better for the metro area's black, white, and Asian populations, all of which have grown more educated over the past decade. DC's Hispanics, however, have not only failed to keep pace with their neighbors, but their collective level of education has even declined since 1990. Whereas 65 percent had high-school diplomas in 1990, only 58 percent did in 2000.

But this doesn't necessarily mean that those Hispanics here for the last Census declined to follow, in the words of the *Washington Post*, "the expected pattern in which younger people stay in school longer than their parents did." It's hard to say given the diluting impact subsequent mass immigration has had on their community. According to the Brookings report, "The low levels of educational attainment of so many of these Hispanic adult immigrants reflect educational

standards in their home countries and explain to a large extent the declining educational levels among Hispanics in the Washington region over time."

Why does an area otherwise so accomplished attract so many poorly educated immigrants? The *Post* has an explanation: "People with more money than time are eager to hire nannies, landscapers and other service providers." This, a classic reason behind wealthy support for open borders, reflects an elitist, career-first attitude that seeks to opt-out of family and household duties by hiring cheap servants, much the way many Civil-War-era rich paid substitutes to go to battle in their stead. But, says Brookings, "Reducing the [educational] disparity is critical ... to prevent a subset of the population from being locked into low-wage jobs due to low skill levels." In other words, if America is to be the classless society her founders intended, she must take control of her borders.

#### [OCCUPATION]

### EXCELLENT ADVENTURE

A Paul Wolfowitz sampler:

"I think all foreigners should stop interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq."

"... in the Middle East, people will believe almost anything. ... Sometimes it's nice to have the reputation for being almost godlike. ... And the fact is—you know it—we often just make mistakes. We do stupid things."

### End of summer issue

*The American Conservative* will publish its next issue in four weeks instead of the usual two. Enjoy this double issue; the next will be dated Sept. 8.

## The American Conservative

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# The Great Conversation

As it is the mark of an educated mind to entertain an idea without accepting it, we make a custom of introducing thoughts that, while not in full accord with our editorial bent, venture worthy questions or offer fresh perspectives.

Mass-market conservatism, home to a host of best-selling books and top-rated radio shows, has made a name by reciting its catechism back to the faithful. The benefits argue themselves: increased presence in the public square, profit to the scribes and speakers, and an instant relay system for the Republican National Committee. But suggest a dissent, and the homogenization of conservative discourse—and its keepers' will to lap a familiar field—become apparent. An audience happier to be right than to be challenged leaves scant room for thoughtful disagreement—indeed, for mannered debate. Those who differ automatically become liberals.

We believe that the democratic spirit most thrives in a mix of lively, original, sometimes brash discussion, and want *AC* to be a forum for contending views. In these pages, we have invited you to keep company with some unexpected guests: Norman Mailer, the literary lion turned Left-Conservative; Wilsonian liberal Nicholas von Hoffman; ABC newsman Charlie Glass; British socialist Neil Clark. We did not agree with all that they wrote any more than we were prepared to give up e-mail when William Lind filed (by post, of course) his Luddite manifesto.

In place of a party-line, we bring a bias in favor of learned conversation and eclectic voices. As Laurence Sterne wrote in praise of digression, "He steps forth like a bridegroom, bids them All-Hail, brings in variety and forbids the appetite to fail."

To that end, meet Jim Pittaway, an American author whose bona fides include a passport colored with Middle Eastern stamps. The piece published in this issue landed at our office some months ago, and though we appreciated its style were well aware of its audacity. But it stayed with us, for unlike so many submissions that read like extended slogans, this nourished an ongoing debate about the nature of governance, the role of religion, and the portability of the American system.

Moreover, it follows an intellectual strand familiar to the Old Right. Modern writers, in their quest for mass appeal, make playground quips about French counter-

revolutionary Joseph-Marie de Maistre's second name, but their true motive for keeping the long dead count safely buried goes to the heart of dueling philosophies. In his *Evening Conversations in St. Petersburg*, Maistre—more wondering than dictating—wrote, "I have seen in my life French men, Italian men, Russian men ... But as for 'man,' I declare that I have never met one in my life; if he exists, it is entirely without my knowledge."

Those sold on a Jacobin program of revolutionary democracy need to believe not in culturally specific institutions but in universalist notions that make for pretty prose but messy practice. In so doing, they do not defend historic conservatism but create cause for any nation to rearrange another. Edmund Burke called Jacobinism an "armed doctrine," and Russell Kirk dismissed this "first ideology in our age of ideologies" as "a fanatic political creed, a kind of inverted religion." Yet its primary contrarian comes now to be dishonored.

More Maistre: "Wherever an altar is found, there civilization exists." In the case of Iraq—and the whole Middle East for which reincarnated Rousseaus mean it to be a beacon—Islam is not a place citizens spend Sunday morning like so many Christians in the West. For centuries it has been their centerpiece of civilization, and if colonial experiences gone before are any indication, American ideals may not unpack well in that context. Our liberation lexicon could translate as something all together different, making the U.S. not more secure but less.

Pittaway auditions this possibility, and though we disagree with much of his argument, we have enjoyed the debate enough to expand it. "You must read dreadful dumb books and glorious books, and let them wrestle in beautiful fights inside your head, vulgar one moment, brilliant the next," Ray Bradbury wrote. So it is with ideas. Sample this, and the many disparate ones sure to follow, recognizing that while this magazine was founded to advance a certain current of conservative thought, it means never to grow trite in the repetition of its own creed.

Now about our friend Gavin McInnes ... ■



[made in china]

# Death of Manufacturing

The rise of free trade has eroded America's industrial base and with it our sovereignty.

By Patrick J. Buchanan

AFTER MASS AT ST. MARY'S, a retired FBI agent who had worked as a boy in the great steel plant in Weirton, W.Va., whose father had died in an accident at the mill, handed me the *Weirton Daily Times*. "Where Do We Go From Here?" read the May 20 banner. The front page was devoted to the bankruptcy filing of Weirton Steel, which had once employed 14,000 workers in a town of 23,000. Mark Glyptis, president of the Independent Steelworkers Union, said it didn't have to happen. It was a poignant story. When I began my campaign of 2000 at the Weirton mill, Mark and his ISU endorsed me.

That same week, a friend e-mailed me. Timco, a lumber mill where we spent the last day of the New Hampshire campaign of 1996, had shut down. As Weirton Steel had been hammered by subsidized steel dumped in the U.S. market, Timco had to compete with subsidized lumber from Canada.

Across America the story is the same: steel and lumber mills going into bank-

ruptcy; textile plants moving to the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and the Far East; auto plants closing and opening overseas; American mines being sealed and farms vanishing. Seven hundred thousand textile workers—many of them minorities and single women—have lost their jobs since NAFTA passed in 1993.

Thirty years have elapsed since our free-trade era began and 30 months since George W. Bush became president. It's time to measure the promise of global free trade against the performance.

Undeniably, free trade has delivered for consumers. A trip to the mall, where the variety of suits, shoes, shirts, toys, gadgets, games, TVs, and appliances abounds, makes the case. But what has it cost our country?

Every month George Bush has been in office, America has lost manufacturing jobs. One in seven has vanished since his inauguration. In 1950, a third of our labor force was in manufacturing. Now, it is 12.5 percent. U.S. manufacturing is in a

death spiral, and it is not a natural death. This is a homicide. Open-borders free trade is killing American manufacturing.

In 2002, we ran a trade deficit in goods of \$484 billion. This May, it reached the level of \$562 billion, nearly 6 percent of GDP. Evangelists of free trade tell us trade deficits do not matter. Michael Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Bush I, declared, "It does not make any difference whether a country makes computer chips or potato chips."

History teaches otherwise. In 1860, Britain abandoned its Britain First trade policy for the free-trade faith of David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and Richard Cobden. By World War I, Britain, which produced twice what America did in 1860, produced less than half and had been surpassed by a Germany that did not even exist in 1860.

Free trade does to a nation what alcohol does to a man: saps him first of his vitality, then his energy, then his independence, then his life.

America today exhibits the symptoms of a nation passing into late middle age. We spend more than we earn. We consume more than we produce.

Why does it matter where our goods are produced? Because, as I wrote in *The Great Betrayal*:

Manufacturing is the key to national power. Not only does it pay more than service industries, the rates of productivity growth are higher and the potential of new industries arising is far greater. From radio came television, VCRs, and flat-panel screens. From adding machines came calculators and computers. From the electric typewriter came the word processors. Research and development follow manufacturing.

Alexander Hamilton, the architect of the U.S. economy, knew this. He had served in the Revolution as aide to Washington and lived through the British blockades. He had led the bayonet charge at Yorktown. And he had resolved that never again would his country's survival depend upon French muskets or French ships.

As first Treasury Secretary, he delivered in 1791 the "Report on Manufactures," one of America's great state papers. Reflecting on how close his country had come to losing its liberty, Hamilton wrote,

Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation ... ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of a national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing and defense.

Under the Constitution he helped write, a national free-trade zone was

created. Hamilton's idea was to use tariffs to end our dependence on Europe and force British merchants to finance our government and the roads, harbors, and canals that would tie America together with commerce.

Tariffs would give our national government the revenue to operate, while providing our people both privileged access to the fastest growing market on earth and incentives to go into manufacturing. With American manufacturing thus encouraged, we would soon produce ourselves the guns and ships to defend the republic and the necessities of our national life so we could stand alone against the world.

For 12 decades, America followed Hamilton's vision. On the eve of World War I, the 13 agricultural colonies on the eastern seaboard had become the richest nation on earth with the highest standard of living, a republic that produced 96 percent of all it consumed while exporting 8 percent of its GNP, an industrial colossus that manufactured more than Britain, France, and Germany combined.

The self-sufficiency and industrial power Hamiltonian policies created enabled us to rearm in security, crush the Axis in four years, rebuild Europe and Japan, and outlast the Soviet empire in a Cold War, while meeting all the needs of our people.

But in the Clinton-Bush free-trade era, Alexander Hamilton is derided as a "protectionist." Woodrow Wilson's free-trade dogma is gospel. Result: our trade surpluses have vanished, our deficits have exploded, our self-sufficiency has been lost, our sovereignty has been diminished, and an industrial base that was the envy of mankind has been gutted.

And for what? All that junk down at the mall? What do we have now that we did not have before we submitted to this cult of free trade?

## The Loss of Independence

Consider the depths of our new dependency. Imports, 4 percent of GDP for the first 70 years of the 20th century, are near 15 percent now, and 30 percent of the manufactures we consume. Pat Choate, author of *Agents of Influence*, gives the following levels of U.S. dependency on foreign suppliers for critical goods:

- Medicines and pharmaceuticals: 72 percent
- Metalworking machinery: 51 percent
- Engines and power equipment: 56 percent
- Computer equipment: 70 percent
- Communications equipment: 67 percent
- Semiconductors and electronics: 64 percent

In July, the U.S. Business and Industrial Council reported that the Pentagon officials responsible for procuring U.S. weapons had joined with defense industries to oppose legislation requiring 65 percent U.S. content. U.S. missile defense and the Joint Strike Fighter would be imperiled if 65 percent of the components had to be made in the USA.

As Choate writes, Dell Computers of Austin has 4,500 suppliers. Its just-in-time supply line, which stretches across the Atlantic and Pacific, has an inventory of four days. A dock strike on either coast, and Dell begins to close down after 96 hours.

## The Loss of Sovereignty

In the lame-duck session of Congress after the GOP triumph of 1994, Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich colluded with Clinton to bring us into a World Trade Organization where we are outvoted 15-1 by the European Union. In its most important ruling, the WTO has held that the





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foreign sales corporations of U.S. exporters like Microsoft and Boeing, set up to receive tax benefits voted by Congress, violate the rules of free trade.

Europe is now authorized to impose \$4 billion in tariff penalties on U.S. exports if Congress fails to rewrite our tax laws to conform to WTO commands.

When America bailed out the world in the Asian crisis of 1997-98, Indonesia, South Korea, Russia, and Brazil devalued their currencies, slashing the dollar price of their exports. To enable them to earn the hard currency to pay back Western banks and the IMF, America agreed to keep her markets open. Soon, steel from Indonesia, South Korea, Japan, Russia, and Brazil was being dumped in the United States, and American mills were reeling.

The recent steel decision is instructive.

By 2002, 25 steel companies had gone bankrupt, and the International Trade Commission had identified dumping as the industry killer. Invoking U.S. trade law, President Bush imposed tariffs. The dumpers howled and ran to the WTO, which declared the U.S. tariffs unjustified. Either the Congress removes them or the EU is empowered to impose \$2 billion in tariff penalties on U.S. exports.

Consider what submission to the WTO has meant. Our Congress is ordered by foreign bureaucrats to alter U.S. law or our companies face penalties. Presidential decisions to protect vital American industries are declared invalid by Eurocrats. The terms of access to the U.S. market are now to be decided in Geneva by Lilliputians of the New World Order.

### Why are we letting this happen?

Libertarians teach that free trade provides a check on government power. By enabling citizens to buy outside their borders, free trade forces governments to reduce regulations and taxes to stay competitive.

A fine theory. Has it worked out? Hardly. History shows that the opposite is true. Bismarck's *Zollverein*, or customs union, went hand-in-hand with the rise of the Second Reich. The EU evolved from a free-trade common market into the socialist superstate of today that is the model for the world government under which all nations surrender sovereignty and how we live will be decided by Platonic guardians.

In the protectionist era from 1789 to 1933, U.S. taxes rarely took more than 3

percent of GNP, except in wartime. Government relied on tariffs. Before 1913, except for the Civil-War era and briefly under Cleveland, we had no income tax. But in the free-trade era, U.S. tax rates on incomes, currently 35 percent, have risen as high as 70 percent, and spending has exceeded 20 percent of GDP in peacetime. The free-trade era is the era of Big Government.

As a former Friedmanite free trader, let me say it: free trade is a bright shining lie. Free trade is the Trojan Horse of world government. Free trade is the murderer of manufacturing and the primrose path to the loss of national sovereignty and the end of our independence.

## NAFTA: The Big Sting

In 1993, the NAFTA debate gripped the country. Clinton had the backing of the political establishment, the Heritage Foundation, AEI, Brookings, *National Review*, *New Republic*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, Chamber of Commerce, Business Roundtable. Perot, Buchanan, Nader, and the AFL-CIO were opposed, as were the people. But that did not matter. Before the vote, the bazaar opened, and Congressmen began selling votes to Clinton for whatever they could get. NAFTA won.

Ten years later, returns are in. We were told our trade surplus with Mexico would grow, that NAFTA would create jobs here, that the rising wages in Mexico would end the invasion of illegal aliens.

But, the year after NAFTA passed, Mexico devalued the peso, and the United States began to run a string of trade deficits that has reached \$40 billion a year. Drug cartels in South America shifted operations to Mexico. U.S. exports to Mexico are up, but it is not finished goods we send south but parts to be assembled—and factories and jobs

as owners shutter plants north of the Rio Grande in search of wages that are 10 to 20 percent of what they have to pay in the United States.

By 2000, a million Mexicans were working in *maquiladora* plants south of the border at jobs once held by Americans. But now, the creative destruction of globalization has come to Mexico. Factories there are being shut down and moved to America's new enterprise zone, China.

And the Mexican people? Half of the 100 million are still mired in poverty. Tens of millions are unemployed or underemployed. Real wages are below what they were in 1993. And the migration north continues as 1.5 million are caught each year breaking into the United States. Of those who make it, one-third head for California where their claims on welfare, Medicaid, schools,

"Asian tigers." Beijing then invited Western companies to locate new factories there to tap its pool of low-wage labor. As the price of access, Beijing demanded that Western companies transfer technology to Chinese partners. What the companies do not transfer, the Chinese extort or steal.

By offering excellent workers at \$2 a day, guaranteeing no union trouble, allowing levels of pollution we would not tolerate, and ignoring health and safety standards, China has become the factory floor of the Global Economy and surpassed the United States as the world's first choice for foreign investment.

What analyst Charles McMillion calls "the world's most unequal trading relationship," can be seen in the trade statistics. In 2002, the U.S. trade deficit with China was \$103 billion. In May, it

## THE BUSH TAX CUTS AND BUSH DEFICITS ARE CREATING MILLIONS OF MANUFACTURING JOBS—IN CHINA.

and prisons have tipped the state toward bankruptcy as the taxpayers have begun a great exodus to Nevada, Idaho, and Colorado.

NAFTA has helped to convert California into Mexifornia and the Golden State into a Third-World country. Ten years after its passage, Mexico's leading export continues to be Mexicans.

### Factory Floor to the World

While Americans are sacrificing the future for the present, China is sacrificing the present for the future.

Beijing's boom began after it devalued its currency in 1994. While a blow to Chinese consumers, devaluation gave Beijing a competitive edge over the other

was running at \$120 billion, the largest deficit between two trading nations in history.

It is thus a myth to say President Bush is presiding over a "jobless recovery." The Bush tax cuts and Bush deficits are creating millions of manufacturing jobs—in China. America buys 14 percent of China's production and delivers Beijing a trade surplus of 12 percent of its entire GDP. American purchases probably account today for 100 percent of China's economic growth.

The U.S.-China relationship cannot truly be described as trade. It is rather the looting of America by China and its corporate collaborators in the United States. Beijing understands what economic nationalist Friedrich List wrote

long ago: "The power of producing wealth is infinitely more important than the wealth itself."

China has now amassed \$360 billion in reserves from her trade surpluses since 1990. Much of that is invested in U.S. bonds and T-bills, earning Beijing

beginning Motorola has brought forward the idea of trying to be a good citizen of China, taking China as its home and thriving with the Chinese people. ... The development goal is to become a true Chinese company.

our independence. If you disbelieve this, look at the once sovereign and independent nations of Europe.

### **Implosion of the Global Economy**

One need not have a Nobel Prize in economics to understand that U.S. trade deficits cannot continue rising indefinitely. As Choate reports,

In the 1970s, [the United States] mounted a decades-long deficit of \$75 billion. ... In the 1980s, the deficit soared to \$843 billion as Japan began to take away our industries. ... In the 1990s, that trade deficit doubled to \$1.7 trillion. ... At this pace, we're probably going to have a \$6 trillion cumulative deficit in this decade—and that's probably an understated number given the pace we are losing our manufacturing base.

But the world is not going to continue lending Americans \$500 or \$600 billion a year to indulge our appetite for foreign goods. The U.S. dollar has already lost 25 percent of its value against the Euro, and foreigners have begun to buy up America, purchasing our land, stocks, bonds, and T-bills. Foreigners now claim a lion's share of the \$300 billion we pay in annual interest on the U.S. debt and have liens against all future profits of our Fortune 500 companies.

Consider the altered situation we face today compared with five years ago. When the Asian crisis broke, our economy was booming. We could see budget surpluses out to the horizon. With the IMF, we poured over \$200 billion in fresh loans into Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Russia, Argentina, and Brazil. To enable them to earn the cash to pay back the sums they owed private creditors and international banks, we pledged to keep America's markets open to their exports.

### **WHEN U.S. COMPANIES GO GLOBAL, THEY SHED THEIR LOYALTY TO AMERICA.**

billions in interest from the U.S. Treasury. America may be the most advanced nation on earth, and China a developing country, but you could not tell that from studying the trade statistics.

In 2002, China ran up its largest trade surpluses with us in electrical machinery, computers, toys, games, footwear, furniture, clothing, plastics, articles of iron and steel, vehicles, optical and photographic equipment, and other manufactures. Among the 23 items where we had a surplus with China were soybeans, corn, wheat, animal feeds, meat, cotton, metal ores, scrap, hides and skins, pulp and waste paper, cigarettes, gold, coal, mineral fuels, rice, tobacco, fertilizers, glass. Beijing uses us as George III used his Jamestown colony.

One who has studied how China deals with craven capitalists who come courting is columnist Terry Jeffrey. On inspecting the Web site of Motorola, Jeffrey found this description of how it sees its future:

Motorola is moving toward ... taking China as its home and development base. Motorola Chinese Electronics ... has increased its investment several times in China without taking away a single dollar. The company reinvested all the profits in China. ... Since the very

The hilarity of Motorola's kowtow to the mandarins of the Middle Kingdom aside, this passage reveals a hidden cost of globalization. When U.S. companies go global, they shed their loyalty to America.

Consider Boeing, last surviving U.S. manufacturer of commercial aircraft. Apparently, Boeing has gone beyond building plants in China to make horizontal stabilizers and vertical fins for its fleet. On Jan. 1, this story ran in the *New York Times*:

The State Department has accused two leading American companies of 123 violations of export laws in connection with the transfer of rocket and satellite data to China during the 1990s. The Boeing company and Hughes Electronics Corporation, a unit of General Motors, were notified of the accusations last week.

Hamilton, Clay, Lincoln, and T.R. would recognize China's policy for what it is and counter it. But this generation of free traders does not have a clue as to what is going on, or does not care. Either way, the consequences will be the same: de-industrialization of America, decline of the dollar, a deepening dependency on foreign countries for the necessities of our national life, diminished sovereignty, and eventual loss of



These, then, are the three pillars of the Global Economy: first, the willingness of America to bail out nations about to default. Second, the willingness and capacity of America to run enormous trade deficits indefinitely. Third, continued wealth transfers to the Third World.

And this is why the Global Economy is in peril. When Argentina declared it could not service its debt, America and the IMF refused to lend new money. Argentina defaulted. A tottering Brazil was bailed out, but the message was clear. The days of automatic bailouts of bankrupt regimes are over.

And with the dollar sinking, the U.S. budget deficit soaring, our merchandise trade deficit at \$562 billion and rising, and manufacturing jobs vanishing at the rate of 80,000 a month, America's willingness and ability to continue sacrificing for the Global Economy are coming to an end.

Perhaps the most inexplicable free traders are the neoconservatives who champion "unilateralism," talk of a *Pax Americana*, and cheer the coming American empire of pith helmets and jodhpurs. Do they not understand that trade is not an end in itself but a means to an end: national power? Can they not see that our growing dependence on foreign oil and nations like China for the necessities of national defense imperils our security? Can they not see that these mammoth trade deficits must sink the dollar and that no nation with a falling currency can maintain the troops and subsidies to sustain an empire?

In 1962, Prescott Bush stood with Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond to vote no on JFK's Trade Expansion Act. President Bush rejects the economic patriotism of his grandfather and embraces the Wilsonian faith that free trade will lead to global democracy and world peace. Like his father, he also embraces Wilson's faith in open borders and moral interventionism. Wilsonism may cost him his presidency. ■

[give us barabbas]

## A Pre-emptive War on "The Passion"

Defending Mel Gibson's masterpiece.

By Michael S. Rose

A FILMMAKER'S GREATEST temporal hope is that his work will generate publicity, that his latest effort will create a buzz that spreads far and wide. Good or bad publicity—some say it really doesn't matter. Mel Gibson ought to be happy.

His newest film, "The Passion," has already received more publicity than several of Hollywood's latest blockbusters combined. The man and his film have become focal points of contention across the nation, spawning incipient editorials from Boston to Los Angeles and back. In a low-blow special, the *New York Times* even attacked Gibson's ailing octogenarian father who lives more than 4,000 miles away and has nothing whatsoever to do with his son's latest production.

The corker: "The Passion" isn't due out in theaters for another eight months. In fact, when it was first attacked it hadn't been viewed by anyone outside of the production team. For that reason alone, "The Passion" is being assaulted in an unprecedented way: a pre-emptive war has been launched by those who want either to rewrite the Good Book or scatter its ashes at sea.

Of course, "The Passion" started with an advantage. The \$25 million produc-

tion from Gibson's Icon studios chronicles the 12 hours leading up to Jesus' crucifixion. The passion of Christ has always been controversial, and the latest dramatization of the greatest story ever told is being criticized not for its infidelity to the Gospel, but rather for its faithful adherence to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. In other words, Gibson's 10-year labor of love stands accused of following the Gospel accounts of the passion too closely!

Actor-producer-director Mel Gibson, a staunchly traditional Catholic, is no Nikos Kazantzakis. The renowned Greek novelist's version of the passion, *The Last Temptation of Christ*, was used as the basis for a silver-screen palimpsest of the same name in 1988. Directed by Martin Scorsese, that effort portrayed an effete Christ unknown to the four evangelists. Likewise, the film adhered to the most progressive of modern exegetical fads. An example: Mary Magdalene, when she wasn't prostituting herself amongst the heathens (with hickies and all to prove the point), functioned as a kind of "girlfriend" to Christ, their relationship replete with sexual undertones in Scorsese's flick.

Accordingly, "The Last Temptation of Christ" was critically acclaimed as a broad-minded cinematic portrayal of Christ's life, passion, and death, precisely because of its overtly manifest infidelity to the Gospel. There was no wailing from the Anti-Defamation League here, no gnashing of teeth from liberal Catholic scholars and progressive religious pundits. In fact, the orthodox Christians who voiced objections to the film were piously lectured to be "tolerant" of Scorsese's artistic bastardization of the Gospel.

The row over Gibson's "Passion" involves a string of media attacks stemming from a wholly negative 18-page critique put together by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and an *ad hoc* scholars' group that advises a subcommittee of the U.S. Catholic bishops' bureaucracy. (Last year that same subcommittee inveighed against Catholics seeking to convert Jews to Christianity.)

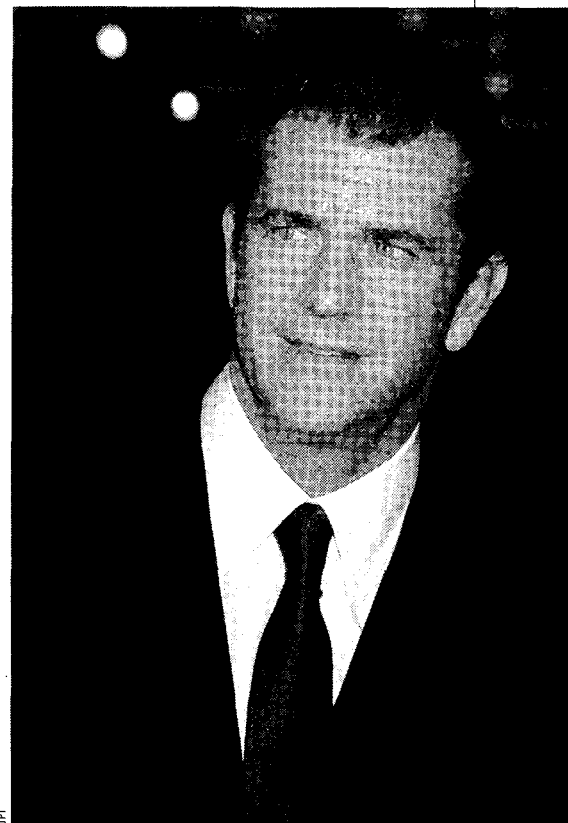
It is instructive to note that the hysterically impetuous report itself, said to be "confidential," was based on obsolete and pirated material. An early, working version of the screenplay—later revised—was stolen by someone the *ad hoc* group playfully refers to as "our Deep Throat." Again, none of the critics

comment, bespeaking their wanton desire to go public.

The report finds fault with everything from the size of the cross (too big) used for the crucifixion scene (too realistic) to the languages spoken throughout the film (too confusing). The crux of the critique, however, is the fear that "a graphic movie presentation of the crucifixion could reawaken the very anti-Semitic attitudes that [they] have devoted [their] careers to combating." Stopping shy of calling Mel Gibson an anti-Semite, they express the fear that Gibson's Jews will be portrayed as wicked money-grubbers who take delight in Jesus' suffering and death.

For the ADL's part, the vigilant Jewish watchdog is driving home its concern that the film may well be "replete with objectionable elements that would promote anti-Semitism" by demanding that it be invited to preview "The Passion" before its release. The ADL admittedly makes its demand with the intention of bullying Gibson's production team to reduce the work to an anemic passion that conforms to its version of history and theology.

Both Jewish and Christian contingents of the *ad hoc* battalion and their media sycophants are particularly distressed



out of beating war drums against orthodox Christianity, distills that concern: "Even a faithful repetition of the Gospel stories of the death of Jesus can do damage exactly because those sacred texts themselves carry the virus of Jew hatred."

Carroll presents the case against Gibson and his "Passion" more forthrightly than most: according to his line of thinking, the four Gospels are anti-Semitic, and orthodox Christians who presumably take the Gospels seriously are filthy Jew haters—Gibson included.

While the flurry of gossip columns and editorials were still littering the nation's dailies, the U.S. bishops' bureaucracy came under fire for its affiliation with the incontinent critique. Gibson even hinted to an Australian newspaper that he was threatening a lawsuit against the good shepherds who seem eternally hostage to the deceitful artifice of their swollen bureaucracy. Shortly thereafter, Mark E. Chopko, attorney for the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, offered a passionate *mea culpa* to Gibson

# THE REPORT FINDS FAULT WITH EVERYTHING FROM THE SIZE OF THE CROSS (TOO BIG) USED FOR THE CRUCIFIXION SCENE (TOO REALISTIC) TO THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN THROUGHOUT THE FILM (TOO CONFUSING).

viewed the actual film; they based their critique on outdated material that was criminally acquired.

The allegedly "confidential" report issued by the self-important *ad hoc* group was leaked to the press—rather enthusiastically it seems. The critics likewise seemed rather enthusiastic about making themselves available for

that Gibson fails to pay homage to their pet exegetical theory, the one that dismisses the Gospel as a work of anti-Semitic fourth-century Christians seeking to shift the blame for Christ's death from Pontius Pilate to the Jews.

In an op-ed piece for the *Boston Globe*, ex-priest and former Catholic James Carroll, who has made a career

and gave his well-publicized assurance that the bishops' bureaucratic brigade would hold off on being party to any further critique until the film was released, a courtesy accorded to nearly all other films.

In an article that appeared in the pages of *Variety*, Mel Gibson responded to his critics this way:

"The Passion" is a film meant to inspire, not offend. My intention in bringing it to the screen is to create a lasting work of art and engender serious thought among audiences of diverse faith backgrounds (or none) who have varying familiarity with this story. For those concerned about the content of this film, know that it conforms to the narratives of Christ's passion and death found in the four Gospels of the New Testament. This is a movie about faith, hope, love and forgiveness—something sorely needed in these turbulent times.

Gibson insists his "Passion" is a faithful portrayal—and that's admirable, but for his detractors that is precisely the problem. It seems intolerable to them that one of Hollywood's most influential personalities has made it clear that his retelling of the passion promises to be faithful to Scripture. In the end, their quibble is not so much with the film or its producer as it is with the New Testament and (the real) Christ Himself. Mel Gibson's critics are only sorry that nothing they can do or say at this point will probably dissuade him from following through with his ambitious and faithful project. Their pre-emptive war was a dud. ■

*Michael S. Rose is the author of Good-bye, Good Men: How Liberals Brought Corruption Into the Catholic Church. He is a contributing editor to New Oxford Review.*

## A Militia, Not a Legion

American armed forces face a severe manpower problem.

By Doug Bandow

BY MID-JULY THE NUMBER of combat deaths in Gulf War II surpassed the number in Gulf War I. The American commander in Iraq, Gen. John P. Abizaid, was forced to admit the obvious: the U.S. faces "a classical guerrilla-type campaign." Even President Bush acknowledged that the U.S. faced a "security issue in Iraq," a "massive and long-term undertaking."

The war went surprisingly smoothly, almost the "cakewalk" promised by some. But though presidential banners read "Mission Accomplished," more than a few opponents of America have proved willing to keep fighting. American casualties climb daily—with an average of a dozen violent incidents every day. Victims include Iraqi "collaborators" and Western civilians. If truck bombs replace bullets and anti-aircraft missiles find their targets, the death toll could mount frightfully.

The troops' visions of being home by Christmas, let alone summer, have been replaced by anger. Still, American officials are talking tough: "They're not driving us out of anywhere," says General Abizaid. But that means a sizable, battle-ready occupation force is going to be necessary for years. Although the administration was proven right on its ability to win the war with a smaller than expected commitment, Gen. Eric Shinseki, then Army Chief of Staff, correctly predicted that as many forces would be needed to occupy as to conquer Iraq.

Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz called Shinseki's estimates "wildly off the mark." But it is Defense Secretary Rumsfeld and other administration hawks, who as late as May were talking about bringing the U.S. occupation force down to 30,000 by year's end, who were wildly wrong.

Today about 160,000 soldiers—146,000 American and 12,000 from Britain and Poland—are attempting to maintain order in Iraq. The occupation is costing \$3.9 billion a month, almost as much as to prosecute the war and double the administration's estimate last April.

President Bush opines, "[W]e've got plenty tough force there right now to make sure the situation is secure." But it hardly seems secure when Americans are dying every day. Even if the situation does not worsen—which isn't likely—many think the current level is too low. Estimates of 200,000 are common, and James Dobbins, a special envoy for both Presidents Clinton and Bush, believes that 300,000 is more realistic. That level would more closely approximate the ratio of occupiers to residents in Kosovo, where the U.S. is not fighting a guerrilla war.

General Abizaid says, "I think the current force levels are about right," but adds, "If the situation gets worse, I won't hesitate to ask for more." Where he will get more if he asks, however, is not clear. In peacetime the Army has traditionally aimed to deploy only a third of its units.



With a force of 10 divisions and several enhanced war-fighting brigades, author Frederick Kagan argues that the Army could support an Iraqi deployment of only three and two-thirds divisions, compared to the near equivalent of five now on station.

That Iraq is not America's only commitment makes the problem more acute. Of the Army's 495,000 soldiers, 370,000 are deployed overseas. Although tours in countries like Britain and Germany include families, few people will want to join the Army if doing so means rarely seeing home. And now much of a soldier's time overseas might be spent in war zones. Of 33 active-duty combat brigades, 21 have been deployed: 16 to Iraq, two each to Afghanistan and South Korea, and one in the Balkans. Given other commitments and refitting, only three brigades are now available as replacement forces for Iraq.

"Every possible unit worldwide is being considered for possible rotations in different mixes and matches," one Defense Department official explained to the *Washington Post*. But that's just a stop-gap—and particularly tough on the troops. The 3rd Brigade of the 101st Airborne Division deployed to Afghanistan and, less than nine months after returning home, was sent to Iraq. A brigade from the 82nd Airborne is now on tap to go to Iraq barely six months after returning from Afghanistan.

A Council on Foreign Relations panel headed by former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger warned that "even the lowest suggested requirements of 75,000 troops" in the occupation force would mean "that every infantryman in the U.S. Army spends six months in Iraq out of every 18 to 24." Double or treble the Iraqi troop requirement and toss in a covey of new commitments—the Philipines, Liberia, etc.—and U.S. servicemen and servicewomen won't see America again until they retire.

The unexpected occupation burden has forced the Pentagon to announce that tours in Iraq will be one year, the same as Vietnam and Korea and double the normal tour for "peacekeeping" missions. "We've done it before, and we can do it again," says Abizaid. We can, in the short-term. But "Either we find a fix to rotate those troops out and to keep the families content ... or we're going to suffer what I anticipate is a downturn in retention," warns military analyst Robert Maginnis.

Relying more on the reserves is another poor option. The reserves and National Guard number 1.2 million, but about 210,000 currently are on active duty (down from 223,000 at the war's peak). Only 550,000 are in the Army Reserve or Army National Guard, however. Some have already served for more than a year.

**OF THE ARMY'S 495,000 SOLDIERS, 370,000 ARE DEPLOYED OVERSEAS. FEW PEOPLE WILL WANT TO JOIN THE ARMY IF DOING SO MEANS RARELY SEEING HOME.**

The Marine Corps could also be drafted into occupation duty. But it is a small force of 175,000, designed to respond to unexpected contingencies. Moreover, as of June, 19 of 24 active-duty and four of nine reserve battalions were deployed overseas.

Internationalizing the occupation would help. The administration hopes to have another 20,000 foreign troops on station by late summer, but the 12,000 British and Polish soldiers now there will have to rotate out. Britain's contingent already accounts for about 10 percent of its entire ground force, a substantial burden to maintain for years. Moreover, many planned contributors, such as Bulgaria, Honduras, and Roma-

nia, are dependent on the U.S. for any war-fighting capability. Hungary is providing truck drivers without trucks.

The Senate almost seemed to be begging when it adopted a resolution urging the administration to approach NATO, the UN, and member states for assistance. Unfortunately, Secretary Rumsfeld says that Washington has approached "70, 80, 90 countries" without notable success. Egypt, France, and India are among those to say no, without gaining UN sanction for the mission. And if the guerrilla conflict worsens, other nations will be less inclined to help clean up America's mess.

The best option would be to encourage Iraqi self-government. But the U.S.-appointed Governing Council dominated by émigrés seems unlikely to yield stability. And recruiting an indigenous police force has been slow: only half of

the goal of 65,000 had been met by mid-July, and the killing of seven police recruits is sure to discourage further collaboration with the American occupiers. In the town of Falluja, Iraqi cops asked U.S. forces to leave their station, so they would not become a target of guerrillas.

What is the answer? In his retirement address, General Shinseki warned, "Beware the 12-division strategy for a 10-division Army." Some pundits and legislators are pushing to add two or more divisions to the Army. But that's a high price to pay to police the globe, especially when intrusive attempts at nation building are likely to make America less secure. And adding the extra

manpower might prove difficult if potential recruits realize where they are likely to serve their tours.

Better to reconsider other deployments. There are 55,000 Army personnel in Germany, which doesn't need protecting, and there is no need to garrison manpower-rich South Korea, which far outranges its northern antagonist. The 5,000 Army personnel in the Balkans, a region of interest only to Europe, should come home.

Equally important, Washington should adopt more modest objectives in Iraq. Gen. Tommy Franks, the war commander, told Congress that he believes U.S. troops could be in Iraq four years from now. That's almost certainly far too optimistic.

The Bosnian experience does not inspire confidence: eight years later we oversee a cold, reluctant peace. The country remains an artificial entity that survives only through Western military occupation—and that's in a region where there was never any violent opposition to allied control.

In Iraq, "We're still at war," observed Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez. Alas, it is a war that U.S. troops are increasingly disenchanted about fighting and the American people are growing more disinclined to support. The longer this conflict continues, the more it will sap America's ability to fight this or future wars. "It would be the supreme irony, and a national tragedy, if after winning two wars in two years, the U.S. Army were broken and defeated while trying to keep the peace," warns Michael O'Hanlon of the Brookings Institution. The risks of America's current course in Iraq will only grow until Washington develops something long derided by the war hawks: an exit strategy. ■

*Doug Bandow is a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute and a former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan.*

[man with a plan]

## Coup de Pentagon

Rumsfeld and his ideologues reshape an institution.

By Wayne Madsen

SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS and career civilians in the Pentagon are infuriated by the arrogance, deception, and outright meanness of a small group of ideologues whose attempts to restructure the Department of Defense (DOD) have instilled bewilderment throughout the ranks.

When the Clinton administration left office and the more pro-military Bush political appointees took the reins, many Pentagon careerists breathed a sigh of relief. One senior officer said, "From Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Hugh Shelton and down through the ranks, there was almost total disrespect for Clinton." But the honeymoon between the military brass and Rumsfeld's team was short-lived. Talk about life in the Pentagon evokes images of dictatorship: "Even for those political advisors close to Rumsfeld, loyalty is always being checked," said one recently retired senior military officer who worked in the Pentagon's D-Ring. "It's a lot like Stalin."

Some blame the man in the top job. More fault his agenda. Those close to Rumsfeld find him personally affable, and his avuncular press conferences have become a C-Span staple. But the neocons' grand vision is so opposed to the cautious impulses of the defense establishment that Rumsfeld cannot advance it without privileging his appointees and disregard-

ing the counsel of the professional military and career civilians.

The first signs that DOD was in for some rough sailing occurred shortly after Rumsfeld and his two top advisers, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Undersecretary of Defense for Plans and Policy Douglas Feith, took over in January 2001. Wolfowitz's Office of Special Plans added to the public perception that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction poised to attack American interests and allies in the Middle East. A senior Navy Admiral rolled his eyes in disgust as he described the prewar term "coalition of the willing" by Rumsfeld's war-planning team within what he called the "five-sided puzzle palace."

A veteran CIA counterterrorism official also said that the pressure on both Langley and the Defense Intelligence Agency to politicize intelligence about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction was intense and included personal pressure from Vice President Dick Cheney.

The chief promoters of going to war with Iraq work within Feith's organization. They include William Luti, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Special Plans and Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Abram Shulsky, director of the Office of Special Plans. Reporting to Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld, but working closely with Feith's group, are Andy

Marshall, director of the Office of Net Assessment, and Marshall's Islamic affairs adviser, Harold Rhode. According to a former official of the Pentagon's Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs, Feith's shop was responsible for cooking the intelligence on Iraq, including the information on weapons of mass destruction used repeatedly in speeches by President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell. Many have ties to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and make no secret of their strong anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Palestinian views, according to NESA sources. One neocon within NESA, David Schenker, reportedly went to work to water down the original road map to Middle East peace and in the process got into furious arguments with the State Department.

Within the Pentagon, Rumsfeld turned his shared insights with Wolfowitz, Feith, and other select advisers into memoranda sent down the chain of command. "These musings became tasking memos sent down the chain like snowflakes," said one Pentagon insider. The term caught on. The memos became known throughout the Defense Department as "snowflakes." But soon, the snowfall of memos turned into a blizzard, ushering in a new "ice age" throughout the Pentagon and subordinate commands around the world.

The wintry environment set in last summer when Rumsfeld ordered a criminal investigation to determine who had leaked a classified war plan to the *New York Times*. The plan outlined a massive land, sea, and air assault on Iraq and ran counter to Rumsfeld's previous claim that an attack would not take 250,000 troops but closer to half that number. One of the senior officers, who was interviewed by detectives with the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (OSI), was asked, "Do you know, William Arkin?"

It turned out that Arkin, an analyst with the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University, wrote an earlier op-ed for the *Los Angeles Times* in which he scooped the *New York Times* by suggesting the massive American attack on Iraq would be primarily launched from Kuwait. (In fact, that scenario was the one largely employed by the military last March.)

The officer under questioning responded to the OSI agents: "Do you know where Arkin works?" The young detectives appeared bewildered at the question. The officer then emphasized that Arkin once worked with Wolfowitz at SAIS and strongly suggested that Wolfowitz was the one who leaked the war plan. A senior Pentagon officer recounted what happened to government officials who may have had access to the war plan: "Rumsfeld's deputy leaked the report but Rumsfeld ordered OSI agents to question every single officer in the Air Force, Navy, Army, and Marines, as well as civil servants in the Pentagon. ... In the meantime, the FBI investigated CIA and State Department officials."

## SUCH PUBLIC ACRIMONY BETWEEN A SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND A MEMBER OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF IS ALMOST UNPARALLELED IN RECENT HISTORY.

Questions about the invasion force also landed recently retired Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki in hot water. While Rumsfeld was saying an invasion of Iraq could be done merely with air assets and fast-moving light armored infantry, Shinseki was giving Congress the 250,000-minimum troop-level figure. It appears that with a strong counterinsurgency movement now taking shape in Iraq, Shinseki was right on the money and Rumsfeld was dead wrong.

Rumsfeld repaid Shinseki by being off on a visit to Albania during the general's

Pentagon retirement ceremony. But it is also no secret that Shinseki never invited Rumsfeld to attend in the first place. If such snubs happened on the Washington social circuit, it would be one thing. But such public acrimony between a Secretary of Defense and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is almost unparalleled in recent history.

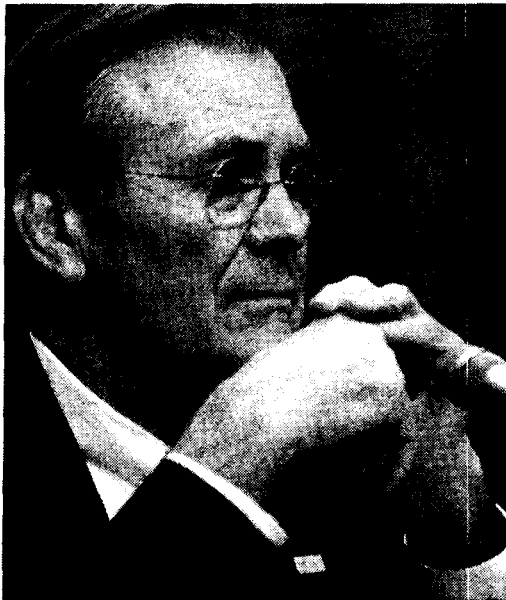
The objections of senior Army generals to Rumsfeld's reorganization plans for the Army resulted in his having to dip into retired ranks to find a replacement for Shinseki. In an unprecedented move, Rumsfeld reached over active-duty three- and four-star generals to select retired Gen. Peter Schoomaker, the former head of the U.S. Special Operations Command, as his new Army Chief of Staff. Schoomaker's successor, Air Force Gen. Charles Holland, was accused by Rumsfeld of having a "case of the slows" in preparing for the war against Iraq.

Neither of Rumsfeld's first choices for the chief of staff job and the deputy position, two of the most coveted positions in the Army, wanted anything to do with the jobs or Rumsfeld. Gen. Tommy

Franks, the victor of Iraq, chose retirement rather than preside over Rumsfeld's plans to "transform" the Army into small teams of SWAT-like special-forces units to be dropped into multiple world trouble spots at a moment's notice. Shinseki's Vice Chief of Staff, Gen. John Keane, also turned down Rumsfeld's offer.

Emulating the advice given by the late country singer Johnny Paycheck, Army commanders around the world—including Gen. B.B. Bell of the U.S. Army European Command (who is based in





Rumsfeld's "Old Europe"); Gen. James Campbell of the U.S. Army Pacific Command; Gen. Larry Ellis of the U.S. Army Forces Command; Gen. Philip Kensinger, commander of the U.S. Army's Special Operations Command—in a professional way, told Rumsfeld to "take this job and shove it." Former Marine Corps Commandant Gen. James Jones had it out earlier with Rumsfeld. He was soon dispatched to head up NATO's European Command in Belgium and now must contend with Rumsfeld's repeated warnings about moving NATO headquarters out of that politically wayward nation.

Earlier, Rumsfeld's constant clashes with the Army Secretary, retired Gen. Tom White, forced White to resign. Rumsfeld replaced him with James Roche, a neocon veteran who once served on the board of Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy and whose previous job as Air Force Secretary earned him almost universal dislike among his subordinates, including his private secretary, according to Air Force insiders.

"Roche is so out of shape and a heart attack waiting to happen, his executive assistants were forced to not only carry a portable suitcase defibrillator on trips with him, but had to be specially trained in its use," a senior Air Force officer revealed. "His own private secretary often

heard Roche screaming 'bastard' to people over the phone and she, herself, would have to hold the phone several inches away from her ear when she was on the receiving end of one of his tirades."

One place where Roche did not travel was the recent Paris Air Show, a biennial defense extravaganza that Rumsfeld ordered boycotted not only by his senior officials and flag officers but also by Pentagon contractors. This infuriated some major companies like Boeing and Raytheon, which chose to send their top-level vice presidents to Paris in lieu of their chief executive officers. One industry executive complained that because Rumsfeld wanted to punish France for not participating in the Iraq war, it could cost the U.S. defense industry billions in lost revenue. Boeing later lost out on lucrative commercial aircraft contracts. The United Arab Emirates and Qatar awarded contracts to Europe's Airbus Industries, which attended the air show in full force.

## MANY WONDER JUST HOW LONG THE MILITARY CAN DO ITS JOB WHILE PUTTING UP WITH RUMSFELD'S UNILATERALIST AGENDA.

For the career civil servants, the Rumsfeld regime has been particularly troublesome. "Rumsfeld took responsibility away from the civilians and gave it to his political advisers," reported one Pentagon officer. "The military is used to being treated like crap and we are not permanent, but for the career civilians who don't move around, not being trusted by your superiors hurts," confided the officer. Paul Hulley, a retired Navy Captain who worked for Feith and Luti as a Middle East expert, was so abused by them for his independent views, he recently retired in disgust from the gov-

ernment, according to a Pentagon insider. Rumsfeld's latest target is Cofer Black, chief of counterterrorism at the State Department who was forced out as head of the CIA's counterterrorism center during the Afghanistan war after criticizing the Pentagon's assault on Tora Bora, which resulted in the escape of al-Qaeda's top leadership. According to CIA sources, Black is highly regarded by both the CIA and the State Department.

In an environment where Rumsfeld dispatches special investigators to plug leaks and threatens people with jail for talking to the media, information about the Pentagon's ice age is passed along in whispers and most definitely without attribution. "Look, these people running the show are vindictive and will not hesitate to destroy careers," said one Pentagon source speaking on background.

Many in the Defense Department's professional work force wonder just how long the military can do its job while putting up with Rumsfeld's unilateralist agenda and his plans to remake the military. In an era of terrorism, the United

States should err on the side of its professional military men and women and the career civilians who have the battlefield and other critical experience necessary to protect the national security of the country. Military and civilian members of the Pentagon workforce look forward to an end to the Pentagon's "big chill" and a return to a warmer climate. ■

*Wayne Madsen is a Washington-based investigative journalist. He is a veteran of the U.S. Navy and worked for the National Security Agency during the Reagan administration.*

# Hip to Be Square

It's getting cooler to be conservative.

By Gavin McInnes

IF YOU ASK the average *American Conservative* subscriber about the kids today, he will probably put down his cigar and complain, "They're a bunch of knee-jerk liberals still brainwashed by the communist propaganda that worked so well on their parents. They're against invading Iraq because 'all war is bad.' They're against Israel because when it comes to light skin versus dark skin, the latter is always right, and they're pro-immigration for exactly the same reasons." I'd like to argue, but he's right.

I should know. I run a \$10 million corporation called VICE that has been deep inside the heads of 18-30s for the past 10 years. According to the *Cassandra Report* (a trend-spotting "cool hunter" that charges corporations tens of thousands of dollars to tell them what's hip), our magazine is the number one read for women aged 19-24 and for men aged 25-30. That's better than *Maxim*, *Jane*, or even the *New Yorker*. Since the *Cassandra Report* was made public, our magazine has branched out into retail (stores in Toronto, Los Angeles, and New York), film (four in production including director Spike Jonze's next picture), and TV (on Showtime). We are a successful company that has made its money recognizing cool, and the one thing that has been painfully clear to us over the years is that it is not cool to be conservative. In fact, the majority of our readership (white, straight, middle-class, American) is only totally positive about one thing: being white, straight, middle-class, and American is *wack*—or, at least, it was wack.

Call me a blind optimist, but I see a light at the end of the anti-American tunnel, a new trend of young people tired of being lied to for the sake of the "greater good." The *New York Times* dubbed them "Hipublicans." Demographics expert Michael Adams labels them "Social Hedonists," and when our magazine did a feature on them we called them "The New Conservatives." We did the piece because it became impossible to ignore a difference in the reactions to some of our more right-wing reporting. A new group was emerging, and the vitriolic "You dudes are all Nazis" letters were being replaced by ones saying "You dudes are finally telling the truth."

Five years ago, we did a two-page spread on how Project USA's Craig Nelson was brave enough to take on America's seriously damaged immigration policies. (We are immigrants ourselves and were therefore not the least bit afraid of being blackballed as "anti-immigrant.") The responses were hysterical. Formerly loyal readers called for boycotts. They annoyed our advertisers with silly rhetoric and called us racists. Needless to say, we were shocked. Like Toby Young in *How to Lose Friends and Alienate People* or Peter Brimelow in *Alien Nation*, we were new immigrants who couldn't understand why Americans were so determined to favor PC posturing over simple facts. Immigration is out of hand, and it's only going to get worse. Where were the young conservatives to come to our defense? Was the dumb community in control of the entire country?

Two years later, we ran an article on an artist who painted women with incredibly large rear ends. Gay men and straight women found the depictions revolting. Straight men loved it. In the article, the writer went so far as to blame the heavy concentration of gays in the magazine world for brainwashing women into thinking men don't want them to be at least a little bit porky. He talked about how men bought more hair products than women last year and how heavy grooming like hair dying, chest waxing, and even eyebrow plucking have become *de rigueur* for straight men. He claimed the gay community had "recreated straights in their own image." Predictably, our readers were outraged. But something was different this time. On our Web site's message boards, advocates of the Right started to appear. For every three people who called the article homophobic, there was at least one saying, "What about the part where it's true? Isn't that worth something?"—a comment that beautifully sums up the difference between liberals (equality first, truth last) and conservatives (truth first, everything else second).

It was as though Bruce-Banner conservatives had been prodded for so long they were starting to get very angry. And you don't want to see them when they're angry. The final straw was an article we ran a few months ago called "The Merits of War." It featured *The American Conservative's* executive editor Scott McConnell, *Coloring the News* author Bill McGowan, and an incredibly drunk skateboarder named Throatie. Scott was against, Bill was pro, and the irreverent skateboarder held our readers' MTV attention span for five pages of political discourse. The reaction was

amazing. Of course there were the typical anti-American brats calling Bill and Scott "stupid white men" and uneducated academics raving about the lack of liberals in the debate, but, more than ever, there were young people responding with favor to a predominantly right-wing discussion. They lashed out at our liberal readers, "What's with all the peace and love crap? You sound like a bunch of pathetic hippies."

This wasn't a group of already established conservative kids making a cameo on our Web site and our magazine's letters page just to bash liberals. These were a new group of kids sick of how "intellectually lazy" (to quote the Hipublicans) the Left had become. They weren't necessarily for invading Iraq. They just wanted to discuss the pros and cons in a rational and calm forum, without the liberal hyperbole of their peers. I felt like Dr. Frankenstein—"It's alive! IT'S ALIVE!"

And it wasn't just VICE's readership. Suddenly it had become fashionable to link liberalism with weakness and conservatism with honesty. Underground film iconoclast Vincent Gallo ("Buffalo 66," "Palookaville," "Goodfellas") is now quoting Nixon and Reagan as if they were Wordsworth and Yeats. Fashion photographer Terry Richardson (Gucci, Sisley, Levi's) is showing up at conservative book launches and publicly trashing Clinton. Even high-school students are getting in on the act, like the southern Californian artist collective called Sofia that made t-shirts and panties with the illegal-immigrant-crossing logo on them.

You wouldn't have seen anything like this five years ago, but now it seems that the reality of the boomers' liberalism is slowly starting to affect the livelihood of Generation X. The joy of mass immigration is easy to talk about when you live in the suburbs and benefit from cheap housecleaning, but when you are going to schools that are 50 percent Spanish

and watching your education slip through your fingers, you tend to be a little more pragmatic. The same goes for affirmative action. Who was laughing the loudest when Jayson Blair was exposed? The journalism students who were forced to intern for us because they couldn't get paying jobs in the mainstream press.

These kids, the New Conservatives, don't have the luxury of idealism that even the youth of the 1980s had. Due to the overwhelming glut of information on the Internet and an unprecedented barrage of marketing, these young people are more aware and more cynical than any generation that came before. Within this group, more and more are embrac-

ing conservatism. They are admittedly few—I would estimate that only 12 percent of our readers would dare call themselves conservatives—but that is at least twice what it was five years ago. Finally, the dumb community's days are numbered. They are slowly but surely being replaced with a new breed of kid that isn't afraid to embrace conservatism. I'm not saying I had anything to do with this newborn counterculture, but I do have this strange compulsion to start handing out cigars to all my friends. ■

*Gavin McInnes the co-founder of VICE, a youth culture brand that was founded in Montreal and is now based in New York City.*

## Thrown to the Lions

Mideast Christians are more endangered than ever.

**By Daniel McCarthy**

"THROUGHOUT THE HOME are understated pieces of Christian iconography: a small portrait of Christ, a Virgin Mary figurine in the kitchen and a wallet-sized photo of an Eastern Orthodox priest attached to a mirror in the bedroom."

The words are Jonathan Finer's, writing on the front page of the *Washington Post*, and the description is of a residence in Baghdad that once belonged to the deposed Iraqi regime's most famous Christian, deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz. That Aziz, a member of Saddam Hussein's inner circle, was a Christian, and apparently a serious one, gives some suggestion of the place Christianity had in pre-liberation Iraq. But something else that Finer reports may give an even better picture: sitting on a desk in

one of Hussein's palaces, in what was evidently a child's room, was an Advent calendar. Far from being persecuted, Christianity in Hussein's Iraq was a visible presence even within the dictator's own household.

Iraq's Christians have been less than visible to the American public. Indeed, Christian minorities everywhere in the Middle East have received little attention from the public and the press, while U.S. policymakers have acted with indifference to fate of the region's Christians. Israel, confronted with suicide bombers and hostile nations near and far, has garnered considerable sympathy and support from Americans, and from evangelical Christians most of all. But the Middle East's own Christians, faced with



similarly grave dangers, have attracted little concern. What is more, the Christians of the area have no Israel, no nation, of their own: they are minorities in every country in which they live. Their plight deserves our attention, especially when the United States's own actions risk making the region an even more dangerous place to practice Christianity.

Where Christian persecution in the Middle East is concerned, it is not clear that the United States is on the side of the angels. Under Saddam Hussein, Christians in Iraq were free to practice their faith. Now that the U.S. has deposed him, Christians face the threat of an Islamic revolution that will reduce them to the level of their co-religionists in Iran. But even Iran, charter member of President Bush's "Axis of Evil," seems positively liberal compared to U.S.-ally Saudi Arabia. And while the U.S. is in bed with Saudi Arabia, the most religiously tolerant Arab state in the region, Syria, is a potential target for "regime change."

There have been Christians in these lands from the faith's earliest days. These are some of the oldest churches in the world. It was in Antioch—Antakya in modern Turkey—that, according to the New Testament, the followers of Jesus were first called "Christians." Today there are 10-12 million Christians in the Middle East; Muslims outnumber them by more than 10-to-1. Christian denominations include Eastern Catholic Churches—like Chaldeans in Iraq and Maronites in Lebanon—that resemble Eastern Orthodox Churches but are in communion with Rome; several Eastern Orthodox Churches proper, with sees at Istanbul, Jerusalem, and elsewhere; and many Protestant denominations as well, in addition to a few very old schismatic denominations that can only be classified by themselves. The rites of several of these churches are still conducted in Syriac, a language closely related to the Aramaic that Christ spoke.

In most of the nations of the Middle East these Christians live in a state of "dhimmitude," as recognized religious minorities under Islamic law. The Koran designates Christians, and also Jews and Zoroastrians, as "Peoples of the Book," who have received partial revelations;

otherwise establishes wide-ranging freedom of religion. There is no state religion, proselytizing is legal, and Assad generally leaves the country's 1.7 million Christians (10 percent of the population) alone. Religious institutions must, however, register with the government.

## NOTHING RESEMBLING WESTERN-STYLE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY EXISTS IN THE REGION, EVEN IN THOSE STATES WHERE ISLAM IS NOT THE OFFICIAL RELIGION.

as such, Muslims are not supposed to convert them forcibly or otherwise overtly mistreat them, although "Peoples of the Book" are not accorded the same status and rights as Muslims. In those states where Islam is the official religion, proselytizing by other religions is usually forbidden, and a Muslim who converts may find himself ostracized, jailed, or—in Iran and Saudi Arabia—even executed.

Nothing resembling Western-style religious liberty exists in the region, even in those states where Islam is not the official religion. Lebanon, for example, whose general population is 30 percent Christian and whose Muslim population is divided among several denominations, reflects its divisions with a constitution that specifies that the president must be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, and the Speaker of the Parliament a Shi'ite Muslim. Conversion from one faith to another is legal in Lebanon, but religion is still very much a political issue. Identification cards specify the holder's religion.

Ironically, the U.S. has found itself at odds with the two most religiously neutral governments in the Middle East, the rival Ba'athist regimes of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Bashar al-Assad in Syria. The Syrian constitution specifies that the president must be a Muslim, but oth-

Saddam's Iraq, with between 500,000 and one million Christians out of a total population of 23 million, was broadly similar to Assad's Syria, except that Islam was the official state religion and proselytizing was prohibited. In that sense Iraq's Christians were under more restrictions than their neighbors in Syria, but in other ways Hussein posed as a patron of Christianity. He ruthlessly suppressed any outbreaks of Islamist violence against Christians, and he provided inexpensive materials to Christians for building churches. He was also known to give money, as illustrated by a story reported by the Associated Press in March, that Saddam Hussein had the key to the city of Detroit, a gift from the city after Hussein donated \$250,000 to an expatriate Iraqi church in Michigan in 1979.

Not that all of Hussein's actions toward Christian communities were well intended. Toward the end of his regime, Iraqi Christians came to fear that they were seen as a "Western" influence within the country and, by extension, as an enemy of Hussein. In February 2002, Hussein put all priests and church property under the jurisdiction of his Ministry of Islamic Property, a move that outraged the expatriate Chaldean Catholic community. But an April article in the *Christian Science Monitor* quoted Iraq's Armenian Archbishop Avak Asadourian, interviewed

after the fall of Baghdad, as saying that Christians “enjoyed total religious freedom and there was no religious discrimination.”

Since Hussein was overthrown, instances of discrimination and violence against Christians have proliferated. On

tain rights. There are reserved seats in Iranian parliament for Christians and other “Peoples of the Book,” and although they are not allowed to run, they can vote in the country’s presidential election. In theory, Christians and other religious minorities can have their own

who live in Saudi Arabia, according to the U.S. State Department’s 2002 International Religious Freedom Report, some seven million are foreigners, and many of them are Christians. The same report cites the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops as estimating that there are between 500,000 and a million Catholics in the country. There are large Ethiopian and Filipino communities of immigrant workers. These are some of the people who fall afoul of the Mutawwa’in. International Christian Concern, an organization that monitors Christian persecution around the world, has reported, for example, that in 2002 five Ethiopian Christians were tortured in two separate incidents in the Brehm Deportation Center, before ultimately being sent back to Ethiopia.

The State Department’s 2002 International Religious Freedom Report details several similar episodes, including the arrest in April 2002 of 26 Christians after Mutawwa’in raids on two private residences. But don’t think that just because the U.S. State Department publishes a report that mentions such abuses that that means they are taken into account in making U.S. policy. Despite the recommendations of its own Commission on International Religious Freedom, the State Department refused to add Saudi Arabia to the list of “Countries of Particular Concern” for violations of basic religious liberty. Both Iran and Iraq made the list in 2002, but Saudi Arabia did not.

There are several readily recognizable factors contributing to Saudi Arabia’s exceptional religious intolerance. It is, after all, the Muslim homeland and holy land, and the Wahhabi ideology endorsed by the House of Saud is quite radical. Yet the House of Saud has little room to maneuver for fear of upsetting even more radical elements, including the followers of Osama bin Laden, who find the royal family to be insufficiently devout—for allowing U.S. troops on

## ISLAMIC LAW, SHARIA, IS STRICTLY ENFORCED. MUSLIMS WHO CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY MAY BE PUT TO DEATH.

May 10, Britain’s *Daily Telegraph* reported the murder in Basra of two Chaldean Catholics who had been involved in selling liquor, an entirely legal and legitimate business under Saddam Hussein but one that would be illegal under Islamic law. A week later, the *Seattle Times* carried a story about an Iraqi Christian who had been evicted from his home because his Muslim landlord no longer felt obliged to rent to Christians. The story quoted the man’s wife as saying, “I think we were better off under Saddam.” In the lawlessness that has ensued since the collapse of Hussein’s government, many Christians have fled Shi’ite-majority areas of the country, such as Basra, for cities like Mosul with larger Christian populations.

In the short term, an Islamic revolution would make matters worse for Christians in Iraq than for those in neighboring Iran; in the long term, it might result in conditions nearly identical to those in the Islamic Republic. Iran is one of the most religiously repressive countries in the region. Islamic law, Sharia, is strictly enforced. Muslims who convert to Christianity may be put to death, and suspected apostates have faced everything from employment discrimination to detainment and torture. Even in Iran, however, the Christian minority—less than 1 percent in a country that is 99 percent Muslim—has cer-

tain rights. There are reserved seats in Iranian parliament for Christians and other “Peoples of the Book,” and although they are not allowed to run, they can vote in the country’s presidential election. In theory, Christians and other religious minorities can have their own private schools, although in practice the government imposes several bureaucratic hurdles. The printing of Christian literature is outlawed, and Christian testimony in court counts for only a fraction of the worth of a Muslim’s testimony. Some Christian denominations, particularly evangelicals suspected of proselytizing, are subject to considerable police harassment.

Christian life in Iran is severely circumscribed, but Christianity is at least legal and accepted. Such is not the case in Saudi Arabia. As in Iran, in Saudi Arabia apostasy is punishable by death, although it not always is. Also as in Iran, printing Christian literature is prohibited. But unlike in Iran, Christians in Saudi Arabia are effectively barred from practicing their religion at all. Public forms of worship that are not Islamic are illegal in Saudi Arabia. Theoretically, Christians are allowed to observe their religion in the privacy of their own homes, but in practice even this right is often violated by the kingdom’s religious police, the Mutawwa’in. Christians meeting in private for prayer groups or Bible study have been subject to arrest by the Mutawwa’in. Some who have been arrested have been beaten, tortured, and deported from the country.

Officially, Saudi Arabia has no Christians. All citizens of the kingdom must be Muslims. But of the 17 million people

holy soil, among other things. This situation minimizes the prospects of Saudi Arabia liberalizing any time in the near future. For the United States to make the kingdom the latest addition to the "Axis of Evil" would surely only do harm, further inflaming radical Islamic sentiment in the country. But the Bush administration's refusal even to list Saudi Arabia as a "Country of Particular Concern" speaks volumes about the place that the plight of the Middle East's Christians occupies in the hierarchy of the administration's regional priorities.

On the bright side, Saudi Arabia is not the norm for Arab states. Others may put limits on the freedom of Christians to meet, publish literature, or proselytize, but none of the kingdom's neighbors is anywhere near as repressive. Jordan's Christians, roughly 6 percent of the population, have prospered and are disproportionately well represented in education, government, and the media. Proselytizing is forbidden, but Muslim apostates face only informal penalties. Yemen, Oman, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates all discourage proselytizing and put some restrictions on Christians, regulating such things as where public services can be held and whether or not literature can be sold or distributed, but otherwise Christians are unmolested.

Qatar is more restrictive and, like Saudi Arabia, prohibits non-Muslims from holding public worship, but unlike Saudi Arabia, Qatar does not persecute Christians for meeting and holding services in private. Bahrain, on the other hand, is one of the more liberal Arab states—proselytizing is discouraged, but bookstores are free to sell Christian literature, and the country's small Christian community is subject to little interference.

But legal restrictions on religious practices tell only part of the story. A country like Egypt illustrates many of the other forms that religious discrimi-

nation and outright oppression of Christians can take. Islam is the official religion of Egypt, and the country is under Sharia—but a form of Sharia that places few legal burdens on Christians and other "Peoples of the Book." The Egyptian constitution guarantees freedom of religious belief and practice, and even proselytizing is legal. On paper, Egypt may seem to be relatively hospitable to Christians.

In practice, however, the Egyptian government constrains the rights of the Coptic Christian minority (between 6 percent and 14 percent of the population) in various ways. Building permits needed for the construction or repair of churches are often held up. In the meantime, it is common for a mosque to be built near the site of the proposed church—and

Egyptian law prohibits the building of a church within 100 feet of a mosque. Christians are also systematically underrepresented in the government and the media, and Christian voters have been harassed at the polls.

The most serious violation of the rights of Christians in Egypt is the tendency of police and other authorities to look the other way when Muslim gangs—or even outright terrorists—kidnap, rape, or murder Christians. In particular, Christian girls have been abducted, raped, and "married" to their Muslim captors. Although Egypt has laws that prohibit minors from getting married without their parents' permission, the parents of Christian girls forcibly married to Muslim men have found it very difficult to obtain justice from the authorities.

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U.S. ally Turkey is in several respects quite similar to Egypt. Although not known for the sort of violent attacks against Christians found in Egypt, in Turkey, as in Egypt, Christians often find themselves refused building permits and in Turkey, too, zoning laws and other ordinances have been used to inconvenience Christians. What's more, as a Jan. 10 article in *Christianity Today* reported, "[A]uthorities forbid Christians on Turkey's southeastern border with Syria, Iraq, and Iran to teach [Syriac-Aramaic]—nor can their schoolchildren learn any subject in it. Christians in Syria, by contrast, legally teach and worship in that language."

Over 99 percent of the Turkish population is Muslim; there are estimated to be fewer than 75,000 Christians in the entire country. Its constitution is secular and guarantees freedom of religion, yet Christians are still subject to abuses. Turkey, which is applying for membership in the European Union, might otherwise seem like a model for other states in the region, a successful "Westernization" of a majority-Muslim state. That even Turkey should discriminate against what few Christians it has serves as a rebuke to those in the West, and in the Bush administration in particular, who dream of building Western-style liberal democracies in the region.

One might expect the most Western-like state of all in the Middle East, Israel, to be markedly different from its predominantly Muslim neighbors. And indeed it is—but there are a few similarities, too. Christian proselytizing is legal in Israel, in contrast to the Islamic world, but there have been moves to change this. Ultra-orthodox parties in the Knesset have several times introduced legislation to restrict missionary activity. In 1998 one such bill even had the sponsorship of a Labour M.P., but the measure was soundly defeated, as have been subsequent anti-missionary

proposals. The most recent was a 2001 bill that would have set a three-month prison sentence for anyone sending unsolicited mail, faxes, or e-mail for the purposes of proselytizing.

Attempts to pass anti-missionary laws have failed, but Israeli officials have found other ways to dampen Christian activity. Often this bureaucratic harassment takes the form of officials refusing to grant or renew visas for clergy or seminary students to enter the country. For example, the Catholic news agency Zenit reported on March 24 that Israel was withholding visas from 86 priests and other religious personnel, ostensibly on security grounds. (70 of those awaiting their visas were from predomi-

## **POLARIZING THE REGION BETWEEN CRUSADERS AND JIHADISTS WILL MEAN DISASTER FOR THE CHRISTIANS OF THE MIDDLE EAST.**

nantly Arab countries.) The Israeli government has also refused to recognize the election of the Irineos I as the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, on suspicion that Irineos harbors sympathies for the Palestinian Authority. The withholding of recognition has meant, among other things, that Irineos has been unable to obtain visas for guests he wishes to invite to the Holy Land.

This amounts to little more than a nuisance for Israel's Christians; such things are small compared with the abuses of Christians that occur in even most moderate Arab countries. When political and economic freedoms are taken into account, Israel certainly does live up to its reputation as the most Western nation in the region. Even so, religion is not a matter of political indifference in Israel and in Israel too, where religion comes into play in politics, formally or informally, Christians lose out.

The history and demographic make-

up of the Middle East both argue against the prospects of religiously neutral liberal democracies taking root there any time soon. U.S. attempts at nation building put the area's Christians at grave risk, as we are seeing now in Iraq. So what can the U.S. do?

We can begin, like the Hippocratic Oath, with the injunction to "first do no harm." Christians have survived in the Middle East for nearly 2,000 years. In most places they have reached an uneasy but stable living arrangement with their Muslim countrymen. As bad as things are for these Christians, they could be much worse. Aggressive U.S. intervention in the area has little hope of bringing an unknown religious tolerance

to the region, but it can certainly inflame Islamic radicalism. Polarizing the region between Crusaders on the one hand and Jihadists on the other will mean disaster for the Christians of the Middle East. It does not matter to the likes of Osama bin Laden that Christians are as much natives of the Middle East as Muslims are and indeed have a longer tradition. Christians will still be seen as Westerners and enemies.

The U.S. may have other concerns in the Middle East beyond just the fate of its Christian minorities, but at the very least American policymakers should think carefully before acting in a way likely to cause more suffering. Certainly Western-style democracy for the people of the Middle East should not come at the expense of the lives of the region's Christians. ■

*Daniel McCarthy is a writer for LewRockwell.com.*

# The Coming Diversity Crack-up

Mass immigration compounds the affirmative-action injustice.

By Steve Sailer

THE SUPREME COURT'S decision endorsing race and ethnicity as valid factors in choosing law students at the University of Michigan is just a fading echo from the past, according to veteran conservative commentator George F. Will. A tidal wave of Hispanic immigration is washing away "a vanished America's problems with a binary, black-and-white understanding of its racial composition." In his June 24 column, headlined "A Crude Remedy for a Disappearing Problem," Will also rejoiced that "rapidly rising rates of intermarriage further the wholesome blurring of the picture of the nation." He summed up, "Demographics, not constitutional litigation, are determining the destiny of a post-racial America."

A quantitative approach, however, suggests a more disturbing picture, one illustrated by the title of a 2002 book published by the late UC Santa Barbara historian and political scientist Hugh Davis Graham: *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America*. Without reforms, mass immigration will make ethnic preferences an increasingly contentious and racially divisive issue for future generations.

The key variable in predicting how disruptive reverse discrimination might eventually become is the "racial ratio." This novel measure refers to how many whites there are to shoulder the cost of preferences relative to each legally protected minority member. All else being equal in this zero-sum game,

as the proportion of whites to minorities shrinks due to the demographic changes Will celebrates, the higher the cost of affirmative action per individual white, and thus the more resentment whites will feel toward minorities.

This racial ratio is directly analogous to the well-known ratio of workers per retiree that is central to debates over the future of Social Security. Yet, this whites-per-minority concept is almost unknown in discussions of affirmative action.

Although the Social Security issue places the interests of the young and the old at odds, their being each other's children and parents alleviates some of the callousness of the conflict. In contrast, fewer family ties exist to temper racial and ethnic struggles, which is why they are so rightly feared.

If the current rules remain, the racial ratio will plummet for the rest of the century. Simultaneously, the electoral power of whites will fall, making it harder for them to obtain redress of their growing grievances through the normal political channels.

This portends a volatile future for the Republic. White alienation will very likely elicit white-nationalist activism, as in Europe in recent years. The authorities will in turn crack down by imposing ever more stifling political correctness, driving white nationalists underground, with uncertain but probably unpleasant consequences.

How did we start down this road?

The Nixon administration invented racial quotas in 1969 to integrate segre-

gated craft unions. At that time, there were almost eight whites for every black, so the average cost per white of giving a boost to blacks in payback for generations of exploitation during slavery and Jim Crow was relatively small.

In the 1970 Census, African-Americans made up 90 percent of the then-recognized minorities, and Americans to this day still tend to think of preferences as applying primarily to blacks.

In 1973, however, the Nixon White House created the Asian racial and Hispanic ethnic categories. Meanwhile, in 1965, Congress had loosened up immigration again after restricting it tightly since 1924. Almost no one thought about the long-term interaction of immigration and quotas. So, federal bureaucrats driven, according to historian Graham, "not only by the country's history of past discrimination but also by the vagaries of chance, historical accident, logical contradiction, and inadvertence," extended affirmative action to Asians and Hispanics.

Nobody offered much of an explanation for why immigrants who chose America, presumably warts and all, should immediately qualify for special treatment at the expense of many native-born citizens, but then not many people bothered to ask either. Americans just found it more interesting then, as now, to argue over affirmative action for blacks.

The 1980 Census found 181 million non-Hispanic whites and 46 million "protected minorities," resulting in a racial ratio of 3.9 whites for every minority.

Today, the majority of the beneficiaries of racial/ethnic preferences aren't black. Indeed, the Census Bureau recently reported that Hispanics (38.8 million) now outnumber blacks (38.3 million). Only 42 percent of protected minorities are African-American. There are only 2.2 non-Hispanic whites per minority member.

In some fields, Asians now bear the burden along with whites of paying for quotas, which eases the racial ratio. For example, Northeast Asians get no benefit in college admissions. If you lump all Asians in with whites, then the racial ratio of the legally unprivileged to the privileged is currently 2.6 to 1.

On the other hand, Southeast Asians sometimes receive a helping hand when applying to universities. Moreover, Asians sometimes benefit from minority enterprise loans and programs that let minorities win government contracts despite higher bids. That's why South Asian immigrant businessmen successfully petitioned the Small Business Administration to change their race from Caucasian to Asian in 1982.

Finally, the 1991 Civil Rights Act placed the burden of proof on private employers, forcing them to show that any sta-

cluster in technical rather than executive jobs. Still, no matter which side of the equation Asians fall upon, the racial ratio is likely to decline sharply over the next several generations.

In January 2000, the Census Bureau released its official projections for the 21st century. Over the next 25 years, according to the Bureau's best-guess Middle Series estimate, the number of non-Hispanic white benefactors will rise from 197 to 210 million. In contrast, minority beneficiaries will increase from 92 million to 135 million, reducing the racial ratio from 2.2 to 1.6. By 2050, white payers will barely outnumber minority payees. And, four generations in the future in 2100, there will be 230 million whites sacrificing for 341 million minorities, for a racial ratio of 0.7. That would be an order of magnitude more burdensome per white than when affirmative action began 34 years ago.

Unfortunately, when preparing these projections, the Census Bureau underestimated the U.S. population by six million, in large part because the 2000 Census found 8.7 percent more Hispanics than expected. This means the Middle projection for Hispanics may well be understated.

for the other groups. That leads to even more lopsided racial ratios. By 2050, there would be 213 million whites and 240 million preferred minorities. By 2100, there would only be two whites (230 million) for every five nonwhites (563 million, including 413 million Hispanics). Compared to 1969, this racial ratio of 0.4 would be almost 20 times more onerous on individual whites.

Gender preferences for women increase the burden on white males even further. Quotas for women haven't been quite as controversial because they take from men but often give to their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters. So, the net effect on a family as a whole tends to be more mixed than in the case of racial and ethnic quotas, where individuals are battling over the treatment not only of themselves, but of their children and grandchildren. Still, these gender quotas do add to white men's frustrations.

Of course, the ideal outcome would be for legally privileged groups to improve their performance up to the levels attained by the unprivileged. Women, for example, have moved ahead so quickly that they now outnumber men as undergraduates, making gender preferences outdated at that level.

Sandra Day O'Connor opined in her majority decision, "We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary to further the interest approved today." This is of course not a time limit, as many have claimed, but simply an empirical prediction. Unfortunately, blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians have not made much progress toward narrowing their academic performance gaps over the last 15 years, so there doesn't seem to be much evidence for it.

But won't interracial marriage solve the problem? In general, intermarriage does tend to ease racial tensions, but the current U.S. policy for classifying the offspring of such marriages will only

**IN GENERAL, INTERMARRIAGE DOES TEND TO EASE RACIAL TENSIONS, BUT THE CURRENT U.S. POLICY FOR CLASSIFYING THE OFFSPRING OF SUCH MARRIAGES WILL ONLY EXACERBATE THE RACIAL-RATIO PROBLEM.**

tistical deviations from racial and ethnic proportionality in their work forces was justified by the strict standard of "business necessity." Some Asian groups such as Chinese for Affirmative Action support racial preferences, in part because self-imposed quotas help Asians break through the "glass ceiling" that they blame for their tendency to

Further, from 2000 to 2002, the number of Hispanics grew almost 10 percent—as fast as the Highest Projection trend line. In 2002, the actual Hispanic population exceeded the Bureau's Highest forecast by 9.1 percent.

This implies that the most likely outcome might combine the Highest Hispanic projection with the Middle trend



exacerbate the racial-ratio problem. Census respondents in 2000 could, for the first time, identify themselves as belonging to more than one race. This change posed problems for the Clinton administration's political allies, such as the NAACP, which wanted to maintain the old Jim Crow "One Drop of Blood" rule that counted anyone with any visible sub-Saharan African background as being simply black. This maximized the number of blacks and thus maximized quota sizes.

After struggling for years, the Clinton White House announced on March 9, 2000 that it would indeed let people who are part white and part minority check two (or more) boxes. Yet, for use in civil rights enforcement (in other words, in calculating quotas), the Office of Management and Budget bulletin announced, "Responses that combine one minority race and white are [to be] allocated to the minority race." That is, the government simply ignores the white box.

This procedure increases the number of minorities for the purposes of discrimination lawsuits, thus increasing quota sizes that firms impose pre-emptively upon themselves. People who are so slightly black that they identified themselves before as white are now counted as only being black.

Clinton even extended the infamous one-drop rule from part-blacks to those to whom it hadn't applied even in the bad old days, such as part-American-Indians. (For example, Winston Churchill's American grandmother was welcome in high society despite being one-quarter Iroquois.) Similarly, the Clinton policy applies the one-drop concept to Hispanic ethnicity, which isn't defined by blood at all.

The upshot is that under this rule, the more that whites intermarry with minorities, the faster the size of the affirmative-action-eligible minority population will

go up and the faster the white population will go down, thereby increasing the load on the remaining whites. Besides, in the 2000 Census, 97.6 percent designated themselves as monoracial, suggesting that race mixing still has a long, long way to go before everyone in America is a Tiger Woods look-alike.

What can be done to keep the racial ratio up and racial disharmony down? Some possible steps: count part-white people as white, not minority, or at least as half-white; put Pakistanis and Indians

back in the Caucasian race where they belong; reduce immigration; exclude immigrants from affirmative action; limit quotas to blacks and American Indians or dump quotas altogether. And remember, reform is easier now, when non-Hispanic whites cast four out of every five votes than after procrastinating for a generation. ■

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# Surviving Reality

What does TV's latest trend say about America?

**By Stephen Beale**

SHADOWS DANCE ON faces taut with tension as the Jacare tribe sits in judgment. A fire in the center of the circle bathes the assembly in a red glow. Tonight they will banish one of their own into the Amazonian night. On one side, nine torches stand witness—one for each of the Jacarians. After the ceremonial casting of votes, a verdict is reached, a torch is extinguished, and one of the members is expelled from the tribe.

Zoom out. A vast collection of artificial lights, television cameras, and equipment trailers surrounds the congregation. This jungle of wires, poles, and booms teems with a small army of network producers shouting directions, managing the set. The giant outdoor studio will beam its scene back to editors who will manipulate every detail for millions of Americans who rearrange their schedules each week to watch "Survivor."

This adult-sized version of *Lord of the Flies* introduced reality television to

mainstream audiences in the summer of 2000. Before the "Survivor" sensation, reality was a fringe phenomenon, confined to alternative cable networks. In 1992, MTV launched "The Real World," which documented the daily lives and romantic rivalries of a carefully chosen cast of twenty-somethings tossed together in a group house. The success of "Who Wants to Marry a Multimillionaire?" in 2000 didn't mean happily ever after for Darva Conger, but it vaulted the genre from cable to network, demonstrating the primetime potency of reality shows.

But it was "Survivor" that perfected the art by combining the competitive format of game shows like "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?" with the emotional intensity of daytime talk shows like "Jerry Springer." This innovation made reality television a staple of primetime programming. Subsequent shows like Fox's "Fear Factor" (which made its debut in 2001) and "The Weakest Link"

(also 2001) adopted this survival-of-the-fittest theme. Other programs, such as "The Bachelor" (2002) and "Joe Millionaire" (2003) blurred the distinction between reality programs and soap operas. Now some 150 programs compete in the reality market, giving us Ozzy Osbourne reincarnated, beetle-eating contests on "Fear Factor," and Monica Lewinsky as a relationship advisor on "Mr. Personality." Even musty PBS experimented with "Manor House," its faux genteel recreation of a turn-of-the-century English country estate.

Ratings for the most recent season reveal continuing appeal. According to Nielsen Media Research, five of last season's top 10 primetime programs were reality dramas. "Joe Millionaire," the highest-ranking reality show, yielded an average of 14.2 million viewers. By comparison, "Friends," the popular NBC comedy that is now in its eighth season, enjoyed an average audience of 14.1 million.

The rise of reality television has challenged the monopoly celebrities have long exercised over the entertainment industry. Reality shows create instant, disposable stars who are far cheaper than the real thing and offer audiences the illusion of familiarity—Justin, Kelly, Ruben, Trista. The *New Republic's* Lee Siegal writes that reality television is a "revolt of the demos" against the "oppressive idealizations of celebrity." Some critics interpret this development as the triumph of concept over celebrity, yet it still feeds into our star-struck culture.

Indeed, this new dynamic dramatizes America's love-hate relationship with Hollywood. The hypothesis of one commentator, published in the London *Spectator*, suggests that the tribal themes emphasized by "Survivor" are more than just a game-show gimmick. The writer posits that the "new religion of celebrities" has replaced ancient cults. These primitive religions burned with rage against their gods. Sacrificing heroes—human beings

with quasi-divine attributes—vented this primal anger and affirmed the immortality of the gods. The author concludes that a similar pattern governs the emergence of reality mini-stars—who inevitably face a flogging in the tabloids if they don't fade into obscurity.

Reality television also incorporates another quintessentially religious practice: confession. In the tradition of "The Real World," not one episode of "Joe Millionaire," "Survivor," or "American Idol" passes without the losers of the week talking about how it feels to be rejected. No emotion is too trite, no reaction too personal to be dissected. Revealing one's innermost thoughts and emotions assumes mutual trust between the confessor and his audience. Traditionally, these confidences occur within the privacy of familiar circles or the sacred secrecy of church. Yet, on reality television, the inner life—such as it is—becomes property of millions of viewers. Such revelation is the antithesis of what one would expect from a society obsessed with the right to privacy.

This airing of interior life reflects a collective unease with the doctrine of radical individualism enshrined in the notion of absolute privacy. Confession alleviates this tension—yet this conversation occurs between the reality character and a television camera that broadcasts the conversation to unseen millions. Consequently, the experience creates a virtual community in which the viewers vicariously share the struggles of on-screen characters. In this, they become like the protagonist's wife in Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* who, when asked to turn off the wall-TVs in her parlor protests, "That's my family."

This exercise in virtual reality ostensibly empowers viewers. Under the watch of image consultants and psychologists, trained to combine the most explosive mix of dysfunctional personalities, reality shows cast "common"

Americans. Inevitably, participants assume the status of stars within the collective consciousness of viewers. Thus, the sight of supposed superiors being repudiated by their peers—or a panel of judges—is immensely gratifying to the ego. No wonder that three times as many women as men watched "The Bachelor" reject beauty queens and that acid-tongued Simon Cowell is the most prominent judge on "American Idol." The humiliation of overnight celebrities exerts a leveling effect, renewing a sense of community for a society accustomed to shuttling home from cubicles to condos. It's difficult to keep up with the Joneses if we don't know their names, so together we watch the Bachelorette break hearts instead.

The reality revolution especially makes sense when examined in the context of 1990s television. Consider two of the most influential shows of the period—a drama about Roswell-style government conspiracies and a cartoon show: "The X Files" and "The Simpsons." After a steady attrition of viewers, "The X Files" finally concluded in the spring of 2002—just as reality television was rising to the top of season ratings. "The Simpsons"—in production for more than a decade—almost certainly faces a similar fate. Now, "back to reality" is the mantra, as Americans opt for everyday experience over exotic explorations.

T.S. Eliot wrote, "Human kind/ Cannot bear very much reality." At the moment, however, it seems that Americans are fed up with fiction, yet are unwilling to come to terms with reality—the reality of America's addiction to the stream of constant sensation with which pop culture pulsates. The result is a spectacle that, try as we might to look away from, we find increasingly hard to turn off. ■

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# Averting the Clash

An American's case for Sharia

By Jim Pittaway

SINCE SEPT. 11 the U.S. objective has been to "drain the swamp." It's a good metaphor that conjures up images of vermin left stranded on dry land, exposed, out of their element. It is exactly what we want to do to terrorists and their infrastructure, but the strategies so far seem like fishing with hand grenades, stirring up creatures great and small and arousing the suspicions of game-keepers all over the world. Occasionally a dead snake floats to the surface and a stunned alligator is caught, but the swamp remains and becomes murkier as more grenades are dropped.

If the creatures we want to net are Islamic terrorists, then the swamp is the universities, mosques, banks, bazaars, armies, and neighborhoods within the Muslim world where these people are known and where they operate. And the professors and students, the imams, shopkeepers, army captains, and police colonels; the brothers, sisters, cousins, and childhood friends who inhabit the swamp are all our enemies. We have no choice but to direct American wrath against them because we are locked in a mortal struggle with Islamic-based terrorism.

But if there is another way to stop terrorism, a way that did not entail the horrors of perpetual warfare, then we must give it a serious look. After more than 35 years of observing the Islamic movement and the larger Muslim community, I suggest there is a way to get the terrorists without a Crusade.

There are two pillars of Muslim hos-

tility toward the United States: our uncritical support for Israel and our opposition to Islamic law, or Sharia. Our political, financial, and military support for Israel appears immutable, but it is worth noting that, prior to 1968, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all lent moral and political support to Israel while prohibiting Israeli acquisition of U.S. weaponry.

The other pillar of resentment is U.S. opposition to Sharia. If this issue is addressed, the swamp can be drained with the willing collaboration of Muslim populations. But if we do not modify our policies toward Sharia, we can dig in for the war of civilizations. Based on thousands of conversations I have had with Muslims of all stripes about the Palestinian question and the issue of Sharia, there is no question that Sharia is the most toxic, but it is also something that can be fixed.

When the Europeans abandoned the white man's burden of bringing civilization to the Fertile Crescent, they left as their legacy four intractable problems. To summarize, conferences among European powers had drawn arbitrary lines to delineate spheres of influence that became borders of equally arbitrarily defined nation states. Independence meant transfer of power to elites who had gained education, wealth, and power during colonial occupation. Different religious, ethnic, and tribal groups were thrown into a cockpit to fight for ascendancy in centralized nation states, a concept essentially alien to the region. The

Islamic legal system, the foundation of legitimacy, shaping and shaped by human culture and civil society over more than a millennium, was suppressed and replaced with hybrid Western-derived regimes lacking in legitimacy and popular acceptance.

We Westerners roll our eyes at the failure of these states. We speculate on flaws in the character of these Arabs and their retrograde societies. We superimpose the template of Western ideas about human progress and posit solutions like "democracy" and "church-state separation." But, composed of competing groups without a shred of common national identity, ruled by conflicted, and often self-hating elites, and stripped of access to a unifying, socially coherent, and legitimate system of governance, the amazing thing is that places like Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia manage to muddle along at all. Is it any wonder that the really rough neighborhoods like Iraq, Algeria, and Yemen fall to the most ruthless and best-organized gangs of thugs?

By contrast, consider the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, or even Iran. Despite considerable problems, these are essentially successful. Is that because of oil? Iraq and Algeria have oil; Oman none. In pre-colonial days, Yemen was prosperous and cosmopolitan as anyplace in the world. Successful Arab states share amorphous and permeable borders, decentralized power, thoroughly indigenous elites, and, above all Sharia and the legitimacy that it confers upon governance in the Muslim world.



MacArthur's genius in the restructuring of postwar Japan lay in his understanding of legitimacy in Japanese society. He believed if he kept the lynchpin of legitimacy—the Emperor Hirohito and the Imperial system—dramatic reform was then possible. We know he was right, yet consider the pressure he was under to do otherwise. The radicalism of that decision in the context of its time is stunning. In the mind of America, and in the minds of MacArthur's own

civilizations have flourished for more than a millennium, is in such disrepute says more about the ethnocentrism of our intellectual life than it says about Sharia. It is worth examining the sources of these views, and the agendas that come into play.

When I began studying Islam in 1966, Sharia was considered non-Western, not anti-Western and certainly not any threat to Western society. In the secularized world of 1960s American academia,

was total, its consequences severe and enduring.

In this vacuum, the deteriorating relationship between the U.S. and Islamic society in Iran and elsewhere became subject to interpretation by journalists, politicians, and interest groups, each particularly ill-equipped to shed light on something this volatile and complex. Distant, alien, and dangerous, and with no conceivable domestic constituency, Islamic fundamentalism became a political football with virtually magical properties in the hands of politicians whose basic ignorance of Islamic society was exceeded only by their eagerness to toss the magic football and score every time.

Already demonized, the Islamic movement became the perfect foil for post-Watergate investigative journalism. The U.S. press corps has pursued the fundamentalist menace with relentless fervor and without interest in nuance or differentiation among the elements of the Islamist movement and their vastly different aims and methods. The actual reasons underlying Sharia's appeal to overwhelming majorities of Muslim peoples are never explored, and the reader is invited to infer that these populations are just crazy, defective, or evil. The objective is to unearth conspiracies using sources most like the journalists themselves: secular, Westernized elites. In rare instances where an Islamist leader is actually interviewed, the purpose is to bait the interviewee into the most inflammatory quote and frame it to maximize titillation.

Even Islamic fundamentalists read their press notices. As I found in Cairo in 1985, people in all elements of the movement to restore Sharia, and Egyptians in general, were fed up with the U.S. press corps. With good contacts and a non-confrontational approach, I easily obtained interviews with people from all sectors of the movement, from Muslim Brotherhood professors and

## **MACARTHUR'S GENIUS IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF POSTWAR JAPAN LAY IN HIS UNDERSTANDING OF LEGITIMACY IN JAPANESE SOCIETY.**

soldiers, Hirohito personified the enemy. The collective expectation was clear: Hirohito would go. But MacArthur knew better and stood his ground. Failure to apply lessons from MacArthur's success can beget failure in Iraq as stark as his achievement was sensational. And in the Islamic world, though it is as reviled in some quarters as Hirohito in 1945, the "Emperor" is Islamic law.

In the hands of extremists, Sharia is construed in ways that are brutal and devastating to women, minorities, and the rights of citizens. On the defensive for 200 years, and under assault for the last 30, it is the extremists who now hold sway and if they succeed, the dark age of the Taliban will reign throughout the region. But the vast majority of Muslims, who want Sharia, do not want the Taliban, and we could use our leverage to empower them in their battle with the extremists and to midwife a rebirth of Islamic law that gives Muslim peoples peace and meets world standards for protection of minorities and the rights of citizens.

That Sharia, the foundation of legitimacy for 1.2 billion people, and a cornerstone upon which rich and varied

interest in Sharia was arcane; suggesting its re-emergence bordered on foolishness. When the Iranian revolution burst on the scene in 1978, academia was caught completely flat-footed, and the embarrassment was profound. Its self-serving response to this demonstration of the bankruptcy of its analytical models was telling: professors, think-tank experts, and scholars who provided advice to policy-makers had no way to illuminate these events, so they summoned all the gravity and sagacity they could muster and agreed with each other that this Iran business was scary. And nothing could be scarier to secular intellectuals than Jerry Falwell with a turban and an AK-47. Hence the label: Islamic fundamentalism.

The failure of the intellectual community to provide the ballast of scholarship, context, and perspective left the Iranian-American relationship adrift and subject to the winds of political expedience, squalls of media-generated emotionalism, and waves of event-driven public anxiety. Any reconsideration of the movement for restoration of Sharia must recognize that the breakdown of American scholarship in this instance

parliamentarians to clandestine meetings with hard-core Islamic Jihad and Gammiat leaders. Since I was not there to do a hatchet job on Islam, co-operation, even from the Egyptian government, was extraordinary. But unsettling, and more important, was how ordinary Egyptians, from hotel clerks and shopkeepers to army officers and businessmen, came out of the woodwork to express and explain their support for the restoration of Sharia and their distrust of the American press—a loathing remarkably similar in rationale and intensity to our justifiable feelings about those hate-mongering Saudi schoolbooks.

Back then there were seven bureaus of American media organizations in Cairo. Six of the bureau chiefs were either female or Jewish or both. I'm sure the stateside editors who configured things believed they were making important didactic statements, confronting lesser folk with the virtues of pluralism and the evils of prejudice. But whatever their point, the mission was not journalism. Whether the agendas of the journalists or the resentments of the locals caused the most problems is moot. Both presented obstacles that made reporting, in the sense of cultivating broad-based sources, contextualizing events, and informing the public in a dispassionate manner, impossible. To characterize the bulk of what Americans have read regarding the Islamic Middle East as yellow journalism insults the statesmanship of William Randolph Hearst. But the agenda-driven stigmatizing of peoples, with whom there are inflammatory issues to dump gasoline on, is the same.

With academia in bitter default and the press baying like the hounds of hell came various interest groups to aggrandize themselves by vilifying Islam, usually by blurring the lines between Sharia and terrorism or identifying Sharia with

human-rights problems that have far more to do with specific cultures or conflicts.

First among these would be the Likud government of Israel and the various lobbying groups associated with it. Certainly Yigal Yadin and perhaps Ben Gurion would not agree, but the Likud calculus is simple and demonstrated with remarkable consistency: if the Arabs want something, then it must be bad for Israel.

As George Shultz's memoirs demonstrate, his brief regarding the Islamic movement was essentially transferred to Israeli Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu during much of the Reagan administration. My puzzlement about why many of the Foreign Service and intelligence officers—who, unlike the journalists, at least had a clue what was going on—were unable to affect attitudes in Washington was answered by a senior FSO in Amman. He told me in frustration that anything of significance he sent home would be passed by the Israelis, and to deviate in any substantive way from their line, given their influence in Congress and the bureaucracy, was career suicide. I thought that was over the top until I read Shultz's

tians know this story well; they resent it enormously.

But the Egyptians are lucky compared to the Algerians. In 1992, the first genuine democratic elections in that country were being swept by a coalition campaigning on reintroduction of Sharia. The U.S. and France engineered a coup that aborted the process. Ten civil-war-ravaged years and 100,000 corpses later, Algerians still have no idea why we did this. When it turns out that the Algerians don't like us, pundits blame them and maintain that they hate us for our freedom and high-mindedness. (Unlike Americans, Arabs are well informed about acts of various U.S. administrations over the last 20 years.) It is this kind of interference, far more than Israel, that engenders such widespread anger toward the U.S. in the Arab world.

For decades America was presented to Soviet citizens through a montage of grainy footage depicting black sharecroppers, lynchings, and the KKK. Though these images were composed of real pictures and facts, they monumentally distorted American life. The beheading of a Saudi princess some years ago was as appalling as any 1920s

## INTERFERENCE, FAR MORE THAN ISRAEL, ENGENDERS WIDESPREAD ANGER TOWARD THE U.S. IN THE ARAB WORLD.

own account of how he did business.

Twice during the 1980s, Egyptian President Mubarak attempted to organize referenda on the gradual reintroduction of Sharia, to the relief and approval of the Egyptian people—shared by some in the U.S. Embassy. Both times, he was summoned to the State Department and told that if he proceeded, U.S. aid would be stopped, throwing the fragile Egyptian economy into chaos. Egypt

lynching, and the miserable plight of burka-clad, cowering, furtive, Afghan women under the Taliban is as reprehensible as segregation. Unfortunately these images have gained currency as stereotypes that terribly malign life in the Islamic world. One could more fairly condemn Southeast Asian Buddhism based on the Khmer Rouge. Promotion of these stereotypes would be relatively innocuous fundraising opportunities for

women's groups, human-rights organizations, and lobbyists if the price of such distortion were not paid in blood. And blood will continue to flow in Nigeria, one of the most horribly malformed colonial legacy-states, where Muslims, Christians, and animist tribes have amply proven themselves equal-opportunity butchers as they battle for dominance. Sharia, manipulatively trotted out as a tool by reactionary mullahs, has no direct bearing on either causes or solutions to this strife, but rights groups, lately come to the situation, exacerbate the situation by railing about Sharia and thereby alienating all Muslims.

Considering these stereotypes, I'm reminded of conservative women throughout the Islamic world who have no problem asserting themselves and sharing their critique of the commercial and sexual exploitation of women in the West. I recall an anecdote related by a British colleague who watched a female member of the Iranian parliament, in the midst of a heated debate, bop a senior cleric with her purse and knock his turban off. He apologized for his intemperate remarks, and the debate went on. In

our stereotypical view of Iran, how many Americans know that there are plenty of women in parliament and government? How many know there's a parliament in Iran at all or that women hold many senior positions in the Iranian bureaucracy and society?

muse darkly that such a system cannot possibly be compatible with "tolerance," "diversity," or "pluralism."

We talk of imposing "democracy" on the "theocrats" of Muslim civilization. Yet whose "democracy" are we talking about? From our past policies and cur-

### SHARIA HAS PROVIDED STABILITY, COHESION, AND LEGITIMACY FOR AN ASTONISHINGLY DIVERSE ARRAY OF PEOPLES.

Part of the problem in evaluating Sharia is that the most familiar example we have, Wahabbi Saudi Arabia, is also the most extreme, and Wahabbism certainly devastated Afghanistan, where an entirely different school of Sharia is normative. Yet we have managed 70 years of mutually beneficial diplomatic and economic relations with the Saudis. This is hardly because Wahabbism is more compatible with the West than other variants of Islamic law. It is because Sharia-based Saudi Arabia enjoys a measure of legitimacy and is therefore not a failed state. As such, it can conduct itself in its own interests with consistency and realism and act responsibly, if imperfectly, as a member of the community of nations. This illustrates how our problem is not with Islamist governance *per se*; it is with Islamic-fundamentalist terrorism in the context of failed states.

There are four quite different variants of Sharia codified in the Sunni tradition, as well as a Shi'ite version. These systems have provided stability, cohesion, and legitimacy for an astonishingly diverse array of peoples—including substantial Jewish communities—from Morocco to China; from Central Asia to sub-Saharan Africa; from the Adriatic to the Philippines for more than 1,300 years. Yet, in thrall to stereotypes and in love with vacuous but important sounding labels like "theocracy," our pundits

rent public discourse we can conclude that it is not a "democracy" where open elections are held. And what is a "theocracy"? A system where someone purports to receive revelation from God and then dictates to society? Or a place where the head of state is Defender of the Faith, like England. These nuances are important if we are to provide our people in Iraq the flexibility they need to create order in an Islamic society.

When thousands of Muslims pour into the streets of Iraq demanding an Islamic state, they are not proposing to install someone who talks to Allah and then tells everyone what to do. They seek the restoration of a system of laws and governance that are time honored and legitimate to them. Some contemporary form of democracy will very likely follow—that seems to be the way to success in the modern world—and Sharia-derived concepts of *ijma* (progressive consensus) fostered public participation in governance hundreds of years before there were any parliaments in Europe. But as in postwar Japan, or Thailand, or any number of other successful states in the non-Western world, stable contemporary democratic institutions will only develop in the context of popularly accepted sovereignty. Similarly, human rights and protection of religious minorities can best be assured by applying our enormous leverage to broker reform in

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Iraq in a context acceptable to the Iraqi people, not by storming into forbidden women's quarters in a futile hunt for weapons, one AK-47 at a time.

MacArthur overcame our aversion to legitimacy wrapped in an Emperor of divine descent, steeped in religious symbolism. Crass, acquisitive, corrupt politicians and generals in Thailand show how—absent the mystical aura of a similarly sacred monarchy—peaceful, stable, prosperous Thailand is just another Burma or Cambodia or Vietnam. The trappings of legitimacy are precious, peculiar, and specific to societies. They are often difficult for others to understand, and the legacy of failed states in the post-colonial period shows how little this is appreciated.

Now that we have plunged headlong into the swamp, we have opportunities equal to the risks. If we can replicate MacArthur's achievement—democratic, humanitarian reform in the context of legitimacy—we can drain the swamp and transform the Middle East. Legitimate states are successful states, and successful states can defeat terrorism. Police colonels, mullahs, bankers, shopkeepers, professors, and army officers can collaborate with us and end it. Families, wives, and girlfriends of the terrorist cadres can bring them home or turn them in, as happened in Europe when what was perceived as an endless wave of Bader-Meinhof and Red-Brigade terrorism ended with barely a whimper when the people who knew the terrorists became fed up and the swamp dried up.

It is ominous that in all the discussions of our War on Terror, we hear only of decades of perpetual war. Reference is never made to terrorism's eradication elsewhere. It's puzzling that we are not pouring over history's examples, finding what worked and applying lessons learned. Similarities among al-Qaeda, the Red Brigades, the Bader-Meinhof gang, and Thai terrorists include underem-

ployed, overeducated, hyper-idealistic children of elites; organization and methods; operation in a society where their identities are known to family, friends, mentors, and others who essentially acquiesce to the *status quo*. We should be looking for ways to seduce these people into the kind of collaboration that occurred in Thailand and Europe. Instead we now demand it and punish inadequate compliance, but whoever expects genuine co-operation needs to be cloaked in real legitimacy. We cannot continue opposing Islamic legitimacy and expect the co-operation that is the one proven way to end terrorism.

The question of state-sponsored terrorism yields to similar logic and scrutiny. Doubtless, the Iranians and Syrians have a powerful incentive to desist. But there is a precedent from which lessons can be drawn. It is true that the air raids on Tripoli in 1986, particularly the attack on Qaddafi's compound, induced him to reconsider his behavior. It is less well known that,

pied by turning over governance to people and institutions regarded as legitimate by the population. Attempting to impose legitimacy is something else: it's called colonialism, and it's been tried. It is instructive to recall how the British, retreating from empire, left robust little parliamentary democracies in places like Burma, Uganda, and Iraq. But these did not long survive their essential disconnect from any of the trappings of traditional legitimacy in those societies, and the consequences are well known. If we fail to work with *bona-fide* representatives of the Islamic leadership in Iraq, that outcome is the best for which we can hope.

Unfortunately, there may be even darker forces at work here. The Bush administration has shown an inclination to repress anything labeled "Islamist." Some officials appear to take the approach that the U.S. is omniscient and well intentioned enough to replicate the colonial experience without the mistakes. Others subscribe to the idea that

## LEGITIMATE STATES ARE **SUCCESSFUL STATES**, AND SUCCESSFUL STATES CAN DEFEAT TERRORISM.

around the same time, Qaddafi reintroduced Sharia. It is no coincidence that his newfound legitimacy enabled him to retain power while abruptly abandoning the underpinnings of his regime to that point: Arab revolutionary, terrorist kingpin, and *bête noire* to the Western world. We don't like Qaddafi, and he doesn't like us, but nobody now seriously believes we need to destroy Libya.

If we do not learn to identify and collaborate with legitimate authority in the Islamic Middle East, "destroy" is the operative word. There is not much ground between liberating and subjugating a country, and that ground is occu-

there is something inherently wrong with Islam that must be forcibly delegitimized and Arab culture and society fundamentally transformed if the West is not to be imperiled.

The ambition of this exceeds anything attempted by 19th-century European colonialism. From history's little book of fun facts and lessons, recall 16th-century Spain and the "transformation" of the New World. History's reviews are scathing; little more than wanton pillage and destruction. But that's only how it turned out; it was never intended that way. Contemporary documents reveal only reasonable motives: securing the

Spanish state, providing benighted native peoples with the benefits of civilization and commerce, and, above all, saving humanity from religions that were fundamentally flawed. The problems occurred because the Indians did not buy into this and reacted, as history shows people do when their belief systems and culture are threatened, by forcing the Spanish to keep killing.

Muslims react no differently when they perceive their religion and culture under assault. Disparities in technology, organization, and capability dramatically exceed those of Cortez and the Aztecs, but like the Aztecs, Muslims will not get the message until the belief-system that motivates their resistance is spent. We will call that resistance "terrorism," and, since we are out to defeat terrorism, we will not stop killing them until they stop throwing themselves on our sword. That's the way of wars of religion when people lack any other capability to defend themselves. And Islam is an awfully old and powerful religion.

So when Islam is neutered, what will replace it? Those promoting war would need to have a trick or two up their sleeve that has not yet been seen by history. Societies can overcome tremendous whippings and bounce back, but when their culture and belief-systems are wrecked, they do not recover. This, not body count or cities destroyed, is the difference between defeat and annihilation. If we take on Islam, the result will be the same kind of catastrophe that has utterly crushed societies before when culture and belief are eviscerated.

When MacArthur entered Tokyo, he brought little with him except his vision of what to do, the courage to do it, and the authority to make it stick. One thing he did not have was a posse of Westernized Japanese exiles vying for ministerial appointments or politically connected corporate heavyweights brandishing billion-dollar contracts. We now enter

Baghdad without anyone of MacArthur's stature or independence, surrounded by seekers of various sorts—sound-bite-driven politicians, compensating academics and experts, and proselytes for democracy and human-rights non-profits—all with their own agendas, none of which involves restoring legitimacy of governance to Iraq. It's possible we will overcome this, but not very likely. If we

don't, people will continue to resist, and we will crush them—until we get tired of trying to drain the swamp and just poison it and come home. ■

*Jim Pittaway is a freelance writer who has lived and worked in the Middle East. His work has appeared in the Washington Post and the Atlantic Monthly.*

# Enron's Legacy

How reining in Big Business unleashed Big Government.

By Howard Sutherland

WHEN GEORGE W. BUSH made a bid for his father's old job, one selling point for the Republican faithful was his promise to restrain U.S. interventionism abroad and get Washington, DC out of our lives at home. Bombing Baghdad to make Iraq safe for democracy shows the Bush administration shares its predecessors' gusto for armed intervention. And how fares the home front? The Topsy-like growth of the Homeland Security Administration shows that this president does not mind federal bloat either, for Bush-era government growth is not limited to answering terrorism. The latest law purporting to regulate a security of a different kind, stocks and bonds, is a reminder that the president and Congress are as eager as ever to horn into business that used to be private, and this latest federal foray will cost the very people the law promises to protect: American shareholders.

Last year, with maximum fanfare and minimal review, President Bush signed the Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act of 2002,

known for its Senate and House sponsors as the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. Sarbanes-Oxley is a legislative jumble thrown together by congressmen eager to be seen doing something, anything, to help little guy investors suffering a bear market hangover after the '90s bull market bash. With one eye on the close 2002 midterm elections, the law's bipartisan supporters shot at soft targets: fat cat corporate executives, well-heeled Big Five accountants, and, of course, white-shoe lawyers. Sarbanes-Oxley was billed as the needed corrective to the Enron and WorldCom accounting scandals and conflicts of interest on Wall Street. Leery of looking in cahoots with Big Business because of Enron's oilpatch and Texas connections, the administration rubber-stamped it.

Whether Sarbanes-Oxley will prevent the next Enron fiasco is anybody's guess. What is sure is that securities regulation has become a pretext to inject federal bureaucrats into public companies and the accounting and legal professions.

Sarbanes-Oxley is a change in style

for the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), which had regulated public companies by dictating what they must disclose to investors, not how they run their businesses. To justify federalizing the regulation of the securities markets, Franklin Roosevelt used the popular belief that state "blue sky" laws had failed to protect investors in the great bull-market crash of 1929. The first federal securities law, the Securities Act of 1933, set the pattern for how the SEC would protect investors. Felix Frankfurter, one of its authors, said,

Unlike the theory on which state blue-sky laws are based, the Federal Securities Act does not place the government's imprimatur upon securities. It is designed merely to secure essential facts for the investor, not to substitute the government's judgment for his own.

Regulation through disclosures filed with the SEC and available to the public applies Louis Brandeis's dictum that sunlight is the best disinfectant: knowing that their business is subject to scrutiny will keep companies honest. The securities laws do not eliminate *caveat emptor*; they attempt to ensure investors are not bamboozled by false information and misleading omissions.

Sarbanes-Oxley is a disclosure law, but well-publicized corporate grotesqueries like Dennis Kozlowski's yachting at Tyco shareholders' expense meant the Congress would not stop there. Even though many corporations had already tightened their financial reporting and the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) had acted to eliminate the abuse of the off-balance-sheet financing Enron and others used to conceal financial ill-health, Sarbanes-Oxley ordered the SEC to barge into boardrooms and tell directors and senior executives how to behave. Sarbanes-Oxley also puts the SEC in the uncomfortable position of

telling accounting firms what they can do for a living and attempts to regulate the relationship between companies and their lawyers at the expense of the attorney-client privilege.

Because Sarbanes-Oxley is a knee-jerk reaction to accounting shenanigans, it has plenty to say about audit committees, the sub-group of a public company's board of directors to whom its outside auditors report. In response to fears that financially unsophisticated directors could miss financial manipulation by unscrupulous executives or, worse, collude in it, Sarbanes-Oxley decrees qualifications for audit-committee members. From now on, all must be independent directors. They cannot be employees or former employees, and the company cannot pay them for anything other than being directors. At least one of them must be a "financial expert." Congress punted on defining the term to the SEC, which happens frequently, and the SEC's new definition is rigorous. A financial expert must understand financial statements and accounting principles, know how to assess their application to the company's accounts, and have experience working with financial statements as complex as the company's. In essence, a financial expert needs to be a CPA or have been the chief financial officer of another company. The Commission has also considered requiring all audit committee members to be financial experts and may yet do that.

Independence and financial expertise on audit committees is common sense, but there is more than one way to achieve it. Sarbanes-Oxley substitutes the government's judgment for that of a company's management and shareholders and arbitrarily limits their available choices. If the SEC requires all audit committee members to be financial experts, Sarbanes-Oxley may become a full-employment act for retired CFOs and Big Five audit partners.

While trying to make audit committees as above suspicion as Caesar's wife, Sarbanes-Oxley also thrusts the SEC into the management of accounting firms. The law establishes a Public Company Accounting and Oversight Board. The new board is another layer of federal bureaucracy, this time imposed on an historically self-regulating profession. In addition to setting auditing standards—until now the province of industry organizations—the board will also inspect and discipline all accounting firms, including foreign ones, that audit U.S.-listed companies. The board's charter is open-ended, a federal fishing license to take over regulating accounting in the United States. And just to rub things in, the accounting firms it polices will have to pay its bills.

This is all an overreaction to recent transgressions, a power grab barely hidden by the fig leaf of reform, for accounting's track record of self-policing in the United States is good. The profession has already addressed the problems that surfaced last year. How likely is it that a new gaggle of political placemen will do better or be free of conflicts themselves? How likely is it that the new board will restrain itself from superseding all of the accounting profession's self-regulation? The federalization of accounting would be a high price to pay for Enron and WorldCom's sleights of hand, which were more the work of those companies' senior officers than their auditors.

Sarbanes-Oxley also restricts the business of public accounting firms directly. To rein in their perceived excesses, accounting firms are now forbidden to provide a variety of services. No more bookkeeping, financial-systems design, appraisal services, investment advisory, or non-audit legal services. Some of this is common sense avoidance of the conflicts that arise from having an auditor audit his own firm's work. But here again, the profes-



sion's own watchdogs were already addressing the problems and are more likely to produce workable solutions.

Worried that audit partners with long-standing client relationships are getting too cozy with the companies they audit, Congress has ordered audit partners to rotate off client accounts after five years and stay off for five years. Whether this will actually keep green-eyeshaded outlaws from colluding with corporate

officer. If he cannot get satisfaction from them, he must report it to the audit committee or the full board. This is unnecessary federal intrusion, as it is no more than what state bar rules require of a lawyer in any case.

Where the SEC has really run amok is with a proposed rule that, yet again, goes beyond anything Sarbanes-Oxley mandates. Sarbanes-Oxley stopped with making lawyers go to the board. But the

SEC is still considering whether or not to require noisy withdrawal, perhaps with a cosmetic change: that the company, not the lawyer, must report the withdrawal. Does anyone believe that change would keep the SEC from questioning the lawyer? Lawyers are unpopular at the best of times, and their opposition may not get much support. Still, it is worth asking whether anyone should have to consider his lawyer a possible government informant.

Sarbanes-Oxley is a typical federal stampede into things that had run reasonably well without tutelage from Washington. Much of it is ill-considered over-regulation. Vulnerable after the accounting scandals, corporations and accounting firms offered very little in the way of comment, so the legislators' efforts benefited from little practical criticism from those most likely to be affected. As with so much federal regulation, the law will have all sorts of unintended consequences. Its compliance burdens will fall most heavily on smaller companies, which may be another reason Big Business has not complained too strenuously. From their point of view, Sarbanes-Oxley has the redeeming feature of providing a costly barrier to entry for start-up competitors who want to enter U.S. capital markets. Increased reporting obligations and liabilities are deterring initial public offerings at a time when the markets remain sluggish, and foreign companies considering listing in the United States are reconsidering.

Sarbanes-Oxley is supposed to protect investors, but it is no bargain for them since compliance costs will cut into the value of their shares. Instead, its beneficiaries will be bureaucrats who make a living enforcing it, lawyers who will steer baffled clients through it, and politicians intent on feeding Leviathan. ■

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## THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, WHOSE OWN **SURREAL BOOKKEEPING** WOULD LAND ANY PRIVATE-SECTOR CPA IN JAIL, IS **IMPOSING ITS IDEAS** ABOUT HOW TO **MANAGE PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS** AND POSSIBLE CONFLICTS.

pirates is doubtful. What is certain is that the federal government, whose own surreal bookkeeping would land any private-sector CPA in jail, is imposing its ideas about how to manage professional relationships and possible conflicts. And the SEC is considering going well beyond what Sarbanes-Oxley actually requires to force companies to rotate their accounting firms, not merely individual accountants. The expensive and time-consuming turnovers of client accounts every five years would be another enormous compliance expense ultimately borne by shareholders. In response to counter-pressure, the Commission has not imposed firm rotation—yet.

Sarbanes-Oxley's boldest lurch into uncharted territory is its regulation of lawyer conduct. Lawyers' professional behavior is governed by state bar associations and the courts, not the Congress. The law mandates an "up the ladder" reporting regime for lawyers who practice before the SEC. If a lawyer for a public company learns of possible violations of securities law or breaches of trust by management, he must report it to the general counsel or chief executive

Commission proposed a "noisy withdrawal": a lawyer who has reported misconduct up the chain and is unsatisfied with the client's response must withdraw from representing the client and tell the SEC he is withdrawing for "professional reasons." Noisy withdrawal is actually a euphemism for compelling lawyers to be whistleblowers, requiring them to rat out clients to the federal government. It rejects the time-honored principle that a lawyer's relationship with a client is based on confidence that the lawyer will represent the client's interests exclusively.

Any lawyer who gave a withdrawal notice to the SEC would be interrogated about it posthaste, and information the lawyer gave the SEC under those circumstances would violate the attorney-client privilege, leaving him open to disciplinary action by his state bar. Typically, a lawyer may only disclose facts learned from a client that reveal an imminent threat to life and limb. Noisy withdrawal was too much for the bar, and the Commission ran into a hailstorm of protest, by far the most it has received about Sarbanes-Oxley. The

# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[*The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen & Pirates of the Caribbean*]

### King Sean & the Rolling Stones

By Steve Sailer

A COUPLE OF American adventure movies set in British-Empire days are bringing old-fashioned subject matter back to the theaters. Of the two, Johnny Depp's "Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl" definitely has the longer title.

It's also better executed than Sean Connery's "League of Extraordinary Gentlemen," which always seems about to collapse in a heap, especially during a chaotic car chase through the streets of Venice. Personally, I wasn't aware that Venice had streets. Perhaps the filmmakers got Venice confused with Vienna? Still, murky as it is, "Gentlemen" somehow keeps its act together well enough to achieve a surprisingly consistent level of mediocrity. At least it's built on a more intriguing premise than "Pirates," although that's not saying much because "Pirates" is inspired by an amusement-park ride. A very good amusement-park ride indeed, but not something that the world has been crying out to see on screen.

I wonder what's next in this trend of leveraging non-narrative brand names into movies. Maybe "Ralph Lauren's Polo: The Movie," in which Edward Norton plays a young WASP blueblood from the Bronx who lights out for the

Wyoming Territory to ride herd on a seersucker ranch? Or possibly "Krispy Kreml: The Artery Strikes Back"?

In contrast, "Gentlemen" is inspired by that time-honored movie source, the comic book. In this well-regarded 1998 series by Alan Moore, characters from late Victorian bestsellers team up to fight bad guys. This is a nifty idea, and it's fun to see Jules Verne's Captain Nemo, H.G. Wells's Invisible Man, Robert Louis Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde, Bram Stoker's vampiress Mina Harker, and Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray get acquainted. (Tom Sawyer joins up to provide an American gentleman, but he seems to have acquired Huck Finn's personality.)

In fact, the movie would be more entertaining if they'd cut out around 30 minutes of fistfights and just kept introducing more characters from that fecund era, such as Sherlock Holmes, Gunga Din, Mr. Kurtz, and Jude the Obscure.

Unfortunately, "Gentlemen" uses mostly low-budget actors, so much of the pleasure of this kind of movie is

*Mines*. Although he doesn't have many superpowers, he's the leader of the League because he's Sean Connery and everybody else in the movie isn't. Don't you think it's about time that Scotland seceded from the United Kingdom and crowned him in Balmoral Castle as King Sean the First?

(Rated PG-13 for intense sequences of fantasy violence, language, and innuendo.)

\* \* \*

NOBODY EVER ACCUSED Johnny Depp of looking every inch a king. He's famous for his high cheekbones, although that's just another way of saying he has a delicate little jaw. He doesn't look like a classic Hollywood leading man. Instead, he has the gaunt, somewhat androgynous face of a Rolling Stone.

In fact, Depp moved to Hollywood originally to try for a recording contract, and he long played guitar in rock bands. In this era when most every actor in Hollywood pumps iron and thinks about scoring a prescription for testosterone and human growth hormone, the slightly built Depp moved to France, where he

FORTUNATELY, SEAN CONNERY FULLY LIVES UP TO OUR EXPECTATIONS IN HIS NUANCED PORTRAYAL OF SEAN CONNERY.

missing. The reason people would go to a movie based on "Happy Days" is because they want to see if, say, Freddie Prinze Jr. makes a good Fonzie. Same here. We want to see how Tobey Maguire, not somebody named Shane West, does as a 20-something Tom Sawyer.

Fortunately, Sean Connery fully lives up to our expectations in his nuanced portrayal of Sean Connery. He is cast, by the way, as Allan Quatermain, the great white hunter from H. Rider Haggard's terrific African yarn *King Solomon's*

doesn't appear to lift anything heavier than cigarettes.

In "Pirates," with eyeliner and scarves that Steven Tyler of Aerosmith would envy, Depp portrays the foppish Captain Jack Sparrow, the feyest buccaneer ever to sashay the plank. But, Cap'n Jack's not gay. (Not that there's anything wrong with that!) He's just an early '70s rock star in a time warp, the kind of intentionally effeminate heterosexual superstar who, like Depp, winds up with a model.

Depp's conception of pirates as the glam rockers of their day isn't too historically outlandish. Pirate captains often either came from or aspired to the lace-cuffed Cavalier gentry. Aristocrats put on airs of delicate refinement that modern democratic American males would find downright dubious.

Amusing as Depp is (and he might be very funny indeed if you could comprehend more than half of what he gurgles), his performance lacks the charisma of Keith Richards or Mick Jagger in their primes. This is a Disney movie, so there's little sense of the '70s rocker's lust and menace. Depp is as harmlessly genial, polite, and befuddled as Mike Myers spoofing, with velvet smoking jacket and martini glass, the Stones' elderly guitarist-duffer Ronnie Wood. ■

(Rated PG-13 for action/adventure violence.)  
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## BOOKS

[*The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice*, Philip Jenkins, Oxford University Press, 272 pages]

### The New Know-Nothings

By Joseph De Feo

PHILIP JENKINS has written about many unpleasant things, including child molestation, terrorism, new-age religion, and modern Wales. He has now added anti-Catholicism to that list, which presents a problem to a few critics: while they are generous enough to acknowledge the existence of terrorism and Wales, they remain skeptical about anti-Catholicism.

It is difficult not to notice a defensive tone in mainstream reviews of *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice*, because the usual suspects

who write on religion found themselves in Jenkins's crosshairs. He proposes that anti-Catholicism is less the domain of know-nothings and Southern Protestants than it is of liberals, and that it is entrenched in the strongholds of the Left, especially the media and the academy.

Jenkins offers a brisk history of American anti-Catholicism, if only to show that the new anti-Catholicism was not formed *ex nihilo* but drew upon a fertile American tradition. It began to take its present form during the sexual revolution, whose agitators found themselves increasingly at odds with the Catholic Church; meanwhile, conservative Protestant groups slowly eased up on their rhetoric against the Church, which was fast becoming their only ally in the struggle for America's soul. The Second Vatican Council whetted the appetites of would-be activist reformers, but Pope Paul VI's 1968 encyclical *Humanae Vitae* placed the Church squarely against contraception and signaled that the Church's sexual teachings were not about to be abandoned, dashing the radicals' hopes for an October Revolution.

The resulting *ressentiment* proved as virulent as two centuries of nativist and apocalyptic jeremiads. Catholics began publicly to express dissent, especially on sexual matters, with extraordinary boldness. Others formed pressure groups to force the Church to reform, and soon a Catholic civil war was being waged in the media. Such open divisions among the faithful allowed outsiders to enter what previously had been considered internal debates. The result was an all-out assault on the Church—and especially its sexual morality—continuing into the present.

Those who assail the Church are often assured impunity by claiming that present attacks on the Church are justified by centuries of Catholic oppression, exemplified by the Crusades, the Inquisition, and the conversion of indigenous peoples. (Even human sacrifice, it seems, is preferable to Catholicism.) Another familiar defense is that any perceived assault is not against Catholics but

against the institution of the Church. Jenkins counters that since the institution of the Church is a necessary and intrinsic part of Catholicism, denigration of it can constitute anti-Catholicism. And viciously condemning the Church more often than not entails a disdainful sidelong glance at the benighted faithful who persist in allegiance to her.

Critics are quick to point out that some Catholics themselves take issue with central tenets of the Church. It becomes increasingly difficult to prove charges of anti-Catholicism when the meaning of Catholicism itself seems to be up for grabs; accordingly, Jenkins devotes significant energy to the contention that even *soi-disant* Catholics are not immune to charges of anti-Catholicism. (This is not an especially new claim, but it is very helpful to see it articulated by someone who has no stake in shilling for the bishops: Jenkins converted from Catholicism to Episcopalianism years ago.) This line of reasoning has incensed those accustomed to shielding themselves from charges of anti-Catholicism by pointing to supposed scars from nuns' rulers or a Jesuit education.

Jenkins's assertion is simple: one may disagree with the Church on any number of issues and still truthfully claim to be a loyal son. If, however, a Catholic rejects a fundamental tenet of the faith—something without which Catholicism ceases to be Catholicism, such as the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, or the universality of the Church—then one has ventured onto anti-Catholic ground. In a sane world, this would not be a controversial statement. To proclaim that one likes triangles very much, just not in their present form—limited to three sides—is to be anything but pro-triangle.

The dissidents Jenkins singles out sometimes cast themselves as loyal citizens in opposition to their government's policies, a faulty and telling analogy. In America one may not only publicly criticize government policies, but also the form of government itself and the values on which America stands, and still count



oneself a citizen in relatively good standing. In contrast, it is necessary (but not sufficient) to confess certain beliefs in order to remain a Catholic in good standing. The choice of analogy points to the influence of American values on Catholic dissent. It is not at all uncommon to hear Americans cloak their heterodoxy in patriotic language, or to call on the Vatican to fall in line with progressive American Protestant denominations. It is out of fashion to impose American values on anyone, unless those in question are Catholic bishops.

Comparing the Church unfavorably to American democratic institutions unsubtly implies that the Church, especially its hierarchy, is sinister and un-American. And if that raises the specter of a more nativist anti-Catholicism of bygone days, it is no coincidence—those days are far from bygone. A satisfying accomplishment of Jenkins's study is his credible argument that the new anti-Catholicism draws heavily upon the legacy of the old know-nothing style of anti-Catholicism.

One need only observe the treatment of the nomination of Alabama Attorney General William Pryor to the federal bench. Despite his history of applying laws he opposed, activists and lawmakers hint that he cannot be trusted because of what a few senators call his "deeply held personal beliefs" (read: Catholicism). His faith puts him at odds with the law of the land. If the Supreme Court continues to conjure up law along the lines of *Roe v. Wade* and *Lawrence v. Texas*, good Catholics will increasingly find themselves on the wrong side of "settled law"; and it will be even easier to point to Catholics as out of synch with America and possibly subversive.

Much of the language and imagery of the new Anti-Catholicism could have been lifted from 19th-century tracts: warnings about the subversion of American values by alien bishops, the dangers of the confessional, the lasciviousness of priests, the oppressiveness of the Church, and the like. During the recent sex-abuse scandals, editorial cartoons sometimes resembled poorly copied

scribbles by Thomas Nast. Sensational posters warned parents not to allow their children into confessionals, an unsettling resuscitation of a common 19th-century theme in anti-Catholic polemics.

Other time-worn tactics borrowed from the nativists include the desecration of churches, spreading of anti-Catholic pamphlets, and even book burnings—few of which are met with the public outrage that invariably (and rightly) follows glaring acts of anti-Semitism or racism.

OBJECTING TO BLASPHEMY IN ART IS CALLED **PRUDERY**; OBJECTING TO "AMOS & ANDY" IS CALLED **SENSITIVITY**.

The scarcity of media attention to anti-Catholicism is part of a broader, exasperating double standard that has seeped into the culture. Homosexual activists have strewn soiled feminine-hygiene products in a church, and the press called it a political protest; one could only imagine the response had it occurred in a mosque or synagogue. Objecting to blasphemy in art or film is called prudery; objecting to "Amos & Andy" or "Charlie Chan" (recently pulled from the air by the Fox Movie Channel) is called sensitivity. Jenkins notes a sadly serviceable litmus test to determine whether government sponsorship of a work of art would breach the separation of Church and State: a devotional object is clearly unacceptable; submerge it in urine, and it passes muster.

One event absent from Jenkins's book casts the double standard in high relief: the case of Mary Stachowicz. In November 2002, a 19-year-old homosexual confessed to responding to the middle-aged Catholic woman's questions about his sexuality by beating and strangling her to death, then stuffing her body into a crawlspace. Some activists had the gall to sympathize publicly with her killer, and the media largely ignored the story. Police did not even consider it a hate crime. When Matthew Shepard was murdered for being a homosexual, he

became a cause célèbre; today one would be denounced as a homophobe for even thinking of denying him a martyr's crown.

Jenkins could not ignore the sex-abuse scandal of the past year, which has proven to be something of a crucible for anti-Catholicism (not to mention Catholicism itself). There is no doubt that terrible things were done—and were allowed to occur—by some churchmen. Nonetheless, the flood of vitriol released against priests, the hierarchy, and the Church in general was astound-

ing. Gross caricatures and stereotypes were rampant in cartoons, editorials, artwork, and television shows. Letters sections in newspapers became fora for anyone for whom the mere mention of a cassock is emetic. Such bile would not have been tolerated had it been channeled toward different groups. And (with the exception of the *New York Post*) the media have largely ignored sex scandals elsewhere. Recent reports of even more widespread sexual abuse in the public schools have occasioned fewer indignant headlines than attempts to display religious symbols in them.

Without downplaying the gravity of the crisis facing the Catholic Church, one must admit that some media attention was agenda-driven. Many activists, Catholics, fashionable apostates, and others used the opportunity to push their own agendas. Some secular newspapers presumed to advise the Church on matters of purely internal discipline, especially priestly celibacy, on the sensationalist grounds that it was a source of danger to the public. Such claims, as well as countless heated articles, cast suspicion on all priests, when about two-thirds of 1 percent were accused of misconduct. But when respectable studies showed that upwards of 90 percent of the abuse victims were male, the mainstream media still balked at using the

word homosexual. At least we know that homosexuals receive treatment with kid gloves even if they happen to be priests.

Even after the Sept. 11 attacks, few mainstream publications could muster as much energy to urge reform in the Muslim community as they did in the Catholic Church. In fact, several articles (including one tartly-worded screed by *New York Times* polemicist Maureen Dowd) even took the opportunity to place the Catholic Church in the same category as the Taliban and Mohammed Atta—obviously casting the Church as un-American again. The list can, and unfortunately does, go on.

Even after presumably reading about all of this, Garry Wills, reviewing Jenkins's book in the *Boston Globe*, claims that we live in a time of unprecedented tolerance, even toward Catholicism. The darling of the Catholic Left even claims that real anti-Catholicism can be found in bishops' responses to critics of the Church. It is no wonder that Wills is a prominent exhibit in Philip Jenkins's rogues' gallery of anti-Catholic Catholics. In light of this (not unprecedented) charge, it certainly seems out of place to ask someone like Wills to review a book on anti-Catholicism. One may as well ask Michael Corleone to review a book on the Mafia. Whatever one's opinion of Wills, the *Boston Globe's* choice of him speaks volumes about the mainstream media's opinion of the seriousness of anti-Catholicism—and it provides excellent justification for Jenkins's efforts.

Even for someone who believes in the existence of anti-Catholicism before creasing the volume's spine, its catalogue of outrages and profusion of useful notes make it a valuable resource. Jenkins's lively style ensures that it is an enjoyable read even when one's blood is boiling. Most importantly, he succeeds in framing the issue clearly to demonstrate that anti-Catholicism occupies a unique and enduring place as America's last acceptable prejudice. ■

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[*Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002*, Charles Enderlin, tr. Susan Fairfield, Other Press, 308 pages]

## How Close They Came

By Jeremy Pressman

ON DEC. 15, 1999, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak had just landed in Washington. U.S. officials, including Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk, who came to the tarmac to greet him, believed they were on the verge of ending Israeli-Syrian belligerency, one of the two remaining pillars of the Arab-Israeli conflict. With an Israeli-Syrian peace treaty in hand, they could turn to an Israeli-Palestinian deal and the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But rather than meeting on the tarmac, Indyk was called onto the plane by the Israeli premier. Barak had cold feet. "I can't do it," he told Indyk. Israeli politicians and the Israeli public simply would not support the compromises he would need to make in order to placate Syria and reach a negotiated settlement.

As becomes clear in French journalist Charles Enderlin's *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002*, this was not the only time that Barak the peacemaker and Barak the politician were out of synch. With both the Syrians and the Palestinians, Barak's desire for peace outpaced his willingness to make the necessary concessions. If one wanted to blame the failure of both Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Palestinian negotiations to reach a final accord on the decisions and mistakes of Arab, American, or Israeli individuals, Enderlin's account is a rich source of information.

But the book offers much more than individual culpability and raises broader questions about why Israel and the Palestinians never signed on the dotted line to end the Israeli-Palestinian clash

once and for all. *Shattered Dreams* is a valuable and engaging narrative that undercuts much of the mythology about the final stages of the Oslo Process. By the end, one can see both the great promise of a negotiated settlement and the lingering but essential gaps that could derail diplomats with even the best of intentions. Given the recent attention to the road map, the summit at Aqaba, and the spasm of violence that followed, what happened over the last decade remains of crucial importance. If President George W. Bush is indeed ready to get deeply engaged in resolving the conflict, what exactly is he getting into?

Enderlin's work is not written in conventional fashion. The author clearly has his explanations for what happened and what did not happen, but most of the book is filled with the primary data. Enderlin had significant access to Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, and his account, written in the present tense, allows the audience to hear voices far less filtered than in most works about historic topics. (If anything, Enderlin's reader hopes someday he will share even more of the mountains of transcripts and videos he must have stored away.)

Some of the details are fascinating. Chapter four gives a vivid account of the Camp David summit and the shifting positions of the main players. The reader is privy to a discussion among the Israeli delegation on July 17, 2000 as to just what their position on Jerusalem should be and why Israel should care about Jerusalem anyway. Enderlin bucks conventional claims and notes that, yes, on July 21, the Palestinian negotiators did present a map of their ideas for the territorial division of the West Bank. The maps from the talks in Taba, Egypt in January 2001 make for excellent viewing. In contrast with decades of diplomatic discussions of high principles like justice and legitimacy, the Taba maps highlight the very concrete question of exactly what West Bank land each party was willing to concede to the other.

Perhaps most provocative to read is

Enderlin's claim that the outbreak of the second *intifada* in September 2000 can in large part be attributed to the injury of the Israeli police commander on the scene, Yair Yitzhaki. Here, if Enderlin is correct, a well-aimed rock may have helped shape the course of history.

More broadly, Enderlin's account marshals a convincing body of evidence that challenges long-held myths about the Camp David summit in 2000 and other interactions. While many have portrayed the failure at Camp David as the death knell of the peace process, Enderlin shows that serious negotiations continued at the highest levels for months afterwards. In contrast to conventional claims that the two sides made little progress on the core issues and that, therefore, a final settlement is not possible, Enderlin documents the concessions and possible avenues of compromise that might be enough to bring about a resolution.

*Shattered Dreams* serves as a much-needed antidote to the tendency, especially during the second *intifada*, to assume that the current level of violence, hatred, and lack of trust has been constant for years. Enderlin reminds the reader of periods of co-operation and near success. Israel and Syria were very close to an agreement in late 1999 and early 2000. In fact, then Syrian President Hafez al-Assad brought a very large delegation to Geneva in March 2000 to meet with President Clinton most likely because Assad thought Syria would need a wide range of officials to draft the peace treaty with Israel.

Going back farther, it becomes clear that Israelis and Palestinians had some success working together to combat security threats to the peace process at a time when the political process was moving forward, albeit in fits and starts. In 1996, the Palestinian Authority (PA) confronted Hamas after a string of suicide bombings. In 1997, a top Israeli military official noted "a more intensive effort on the part of the Palestinian Authority to prevent terrorism." In 1999, Clinton wrote to Arafat of "... the security area where Palestinians are engaged

in a serious effort to fight terror." In short, the current perspective that the Palestinians never fought extremist violence is unhistorical.

The co-operative trends were undone, however, by individuals and organizations who made specific decisions that undermined diplomacy and escalated the confrontation. At the start of the second *intifada*, Israeli security personnel used massive force to respond to Palestinian protests, leading to escalation rather than calm. Yasser Arafat decided against trying to rein in Palestinian militants. Only many months into the *intifada* did suicide bombings become the technique of choice. Even after the start of the *intifada*, high-level talks continued into early 2001. It was Ariel Sharon's decision not to re-start those talks when he became Israeli Prime Minister.

Part of the confusion on some of these issues stems from a related issue, the general insistence on assuming that both Israel and the Palestinian Authority are best understood as unitary entities rather than states (or a pseudo-state in the Palestinian case) composed of multiple factions. Enderlin's descriptions and testimonies draw out the latter idea well. On the Israeli side, the civil-military tensions are clear throughout, whether it is Shimon Peres debating the assassination of Yehiah Ayyash, Benjamin Netanyahu freeing Sheik Ahmed Yassin after a botched Israeli undercover operation in Jordan, or, most importantly, Israeli military officers defying political directives intended to de-escalate the *intifada*.

On the Palestinian side, the intra-Palestinian clashes are revealing. On March 22, 2000, for instance, PA police clashed with the camp committee during the visit of Pope John Paul II to the Dehaysheh refugee camp. The camp committee was mainly supported by Fatah—Arafat's own movement—and the Popular Front. Israelis and outsiders have long focused on the militarization of the PA as a threat to Israel but have underplayed the extent to which such changes in the PA were also directed internally as tension among Palestinians

## Against war, for America

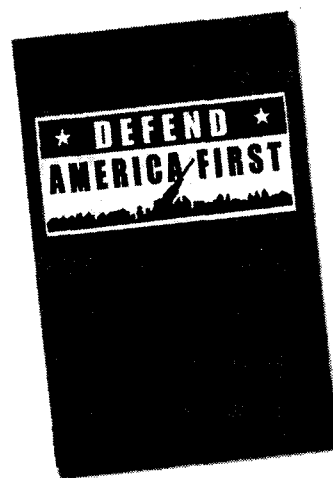
Garet Garrett, lion of the Old Right, loved the America that knew its soul and went its own way in the world—"safe and free and dangerous."

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in the occupied territories mounted in 2000. One cannot understand the outbreak of the second *intifada* and Arafat's thinking without understanding the competing factions involved, as not only Enderlin but also academics like Yezid Sayigh and Khalil Shikaki have described.

While the story of the *intifada* is one motif in *Shattered Dreams*, the heart of the book is Barak's effort to sign a final peace agreement with the Palestinians. The two sides grappled with the core issues such as Palestinian refugees and the right of return, Jerusalem, borders, and settlements. They made progress on many issues and sharpened their understanding of what gaps remained. Important talks took place before, during, and after the summit at Camp David in July 2000. As Enderlin makes clear, many of the building blocks of an agreement are in place if the parties are ever able to get back to talks on a final agreement.

But one senses that at a deeper level, both sides continue to yearn for recognition from the other of their basic legitimacy and right to a seat at the table of nations. Both peoples are seeking some acceptance, however grudgingly offered or framed or nuanced, that they have a link to the land. For Palestinians, this comes down to the right of return of Palestinian refugees. They lived on this land before Israel came into existence,

and the Palestinian state of uprootedness is directly a result of Israel's founding and the expulsion policies that Israel pursued in 1948. Israel's unwillingness to recognize the right of return even in principle, then, is tantamount to continuing to deny the link between where Palestinians sit today and whence they came. It is a negation of Palestinian identity and history.

A similar argument could be made on Israel's behalf regarding the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Arafat and other Palestinian officials repeatedly denied that the ancient Jewish Temple ever stood on the spot that is today home to the Muslim holy sites. At one point Israel Hasson, an Israeli negotiator, asked: what if we gave you sovereignty over the Noble Sanctuary (the Temple Mount), but the agreement included the words "We know that the Jews maintain they have a religious connection to what they regard as the Temple Mount." In a telling response, the Palestinians rejected the proposal. For the Israelis, too, this is a rejection of their legitimacy and history, part of the biblical story that leads directly into the founding of the modern Jewish state.

That each party is uncomfortable with its rival's history is not surprising after decades of conflict. Yet if the parties can agree on a two-state solution, that in itself would say much about modifications in how they view the other's position. Furthermore, it may be that a final settlement is not initially based on a historic reconciliation but rather a recognition of the bankruptcy of the military path and the existing power arrangements, locally, in the region, and around the globe. Only as the reality on the ground changes, as it would dramatically under a two-state solution, are changes in each party's understanding of the other's identity and history likely to follow. ■

*Jeremy Pressman is a fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the co-author of Point of No Return: the Deadly Struggle for Middle East Peace.*

[*Power Kills: Democracy As a Method of Nonviolence*, R.J. Rummel, Transaction, 256 pages]

## War & Democracy

By Paul Gottfried

R.J. RUMMEL'S MOST recent book, including this paperback edition, abundantly documents the costs of arbitrary rule. The author cites statistical evidence that underlines the suffering caused by tyrannies down through the ages. We are warned against political masters seeking to control our lives and to confiscate our possessions. The message conveyed is that power can be lethal; and though the figure of 170 million political murders for the 20th century (given in an earlier book, *Death by Government*) may be questioned, Rummel is teaching, or so it appears, a valuable lesson about democidal regimes. He believes such bad governments do not come along where "democracy" has been firmly established. In "well-established" or "undoubted democracy," we are told, leaders feel accountable to protect the lives and liberties of their citizens. Also since "about 1800" democracies, with a few "insignificant exceptions," have not gone to war against each other. The more thoroughly democratic these governments have been, the less likely they are to start shooting at one another.

Rummel concludes that "democracy" leads toward "democratic nonviolence" and so it is therefore desirable that "democratic" governments triumph everywhere. His fixation on a single model of government makes one think of the Marxist-Leninist concept of "peace." In both cases, tranquility can only prevail after the rest of the world has modeled itself on the revolutionary pacesetter. Without the imposition of this prototype, we are made to believe, violence must go on and on. Although "democracies," like people's republics, are not supposed to make war on one

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another, they do fight necessarily against those who conspire against the Good. The fault is not theirs, of course, but that of their opponents, who arouse justified anxiety about "keeping the world safe for democracy."

Rummel, whose *idée fixe* has afflicted Michael Ledeen, Walter Berns, William Kristol, and Michael Mandelbaum, and rages at the American Enterprise Institute and the *Wall Street Journal*, supplies a definition of democracy that is far

ria, e.g., when they protected slavery and aristocratic privilege, they were nonetheless pilgrims on the way to the earthly Heaven. Others, like the Germans and Austrians, are made to appear inherently totalitarian. Rummel finds nothing good to say about his ancestral people, even though the German and Hapsburg Empires before the First World War provided for universal manhood suffrage, affirmed the equality of all imperial subjects before the law, and in the German

tatives of the states" as president? This was also the process by which the American Electoral College once functioned, and indeed indirect election of the executive continues to be the practice in Israel, Germany, Italy, and among other members of Rummel's democracy club.

Furthermore, Rummel argues, "[F]rom 1914 to 1915 Italy, the liberal member of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria, chose not to fulfill its obligations under that treaty to support its allies. Instead, Italy joined an alliance with Britain and France, which prevented it from having to fight other liberal states and then declared war on Germany and Austria." Italy, which was arguably no more "liberal" in 1914 than were the other members of the Triple Alliance, was not obligated by its purely defensive alliance to become a belligerent. Technically, Germany and Austria had struck the first blow. Its nationalist foreign minister Giorgio Sonnino, moreover, did make an offer, which also contained a threat, to support Italy's former allies. The hitch was that Austria had to cede territories in the Tyrol and along the Adriatic that Italian expansionists viewed as "Unredeemed Italy." When the Austrians understandably refused, Sonnino negotiated with the British government the Secret Treaty of London. This pact stipulated those Austrian and Turkish territories that Italy would be free to gobble up if its government declared war on Germany and Austria. Rummel's

## THE DESIGNATION "DEMOCRACY," ONCE ASCRIBED, CONFERS IRREVERSIBLE GRACE ON THE BEARER.

from rigorous. Everything we should value—free markets, pluralism, periodic elections, easy access to citizenship—are essential for the received concept of "democracy." Such a conceptual hodgepodge indicates a lack of familiarity with one of Aristotle's key distinctions in *Metaphysics* (Book Five) between what is essential and what is accidental in a particular being. There is nothing intrinsic to popular government that requires a free market or that protects private property against political confiscation. Pre- and non-democratic governments existed almost universally until the 20th century, and both arrangements in the Western world protected private property and supported capital formation. Rummel also leaves out of his celebratory picture what is ideologically inconvenient: that Western democracies have now developed gargantuan public sectors, are turning into supranational bureaucracies, tax their subjects up to half or more of their earnings, undertake massive social engineering, throw dissenters into jail or ruin them professionally for making politically incorrect remarks, and, in short, behave less and less like constitutional regimes.

The designation "democracy," once ascribed, confers irreversible grace on the bearer. Thus England and the U.S. have always been democratic, even when they did not conform to Rummel's crite-

case had a highly federalized system of government. As two of their critics note in *Orbis*, democratic globalists operate with an "upward and downward ratcheting tool." Countries that please them get high grades for democracy no matter what. But those they hold grudges against can never reach the bar of acceptability unless American social engineers have managed to reconstruct them.

An even moderately well-read historian should have a field day pinpointing the questionable assertions in Rummel's book. For example, does it make sense to tell us that the Confederate States were not a democracy because Jefferson Davis "was appointed by represen-



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interpretation of these events exemplifies his idiosyncrasies. The postwar attempt to payoff "liberal Italy" with territory inhabited by non-Italians inflicted undemocratic hardship on millions of Europeans.

Pervading Rummel's historical overview is a conceptual error that Paul Craig Roberts stated about someone else reviewed in this magazine: "Free-market democracy is an intellectual construct that nowhere exists." What Rummel does is throw together characteristics he would like to see in his ideal society and projects them on to the chosen few. Anglophone countries, regimes that have been allied to the U.S. and England (minus Stalin's Russia), and societies he considers sufficiently pluralistic all make the grade. Many of his judgments about who is or was democratic are almost childishly anachronistic, e.g., pre-capitalist aristocratic societies and slave-owning ancient cities, with highly restrictive access to property, and he generally ignores the tendencies of modern mass democracies to strike at capitalist and pre-democratic constitutional arrangements. Does it make sense, for example, to refer to the present German, French, or Swedish government as supporting a free market, given the high degree of public control of the economy, the size of the pub-

lic sector, and the amounts of direct and indirect taxation? (On this development Rummel should consult the works on European taxation and European administration by French economist Yves-Marie Laulan.) And how "democratic" are the current highly centralized Western regimes in which bureaucrats in Brussels can take away the historic liberties of an Englishman in Manchester? While no one is denying that life in a Western country is better than growing up in Chad or Yemen, the abstract superlatives Rummel attaches to his own society and to its past and present allies are overblown.

Nor does he convince me that countries that fail to pass his "democracy" test are necessarily dangerous and in urgent need of reconstruction. Some countries have modernized themselves in a more belligerent fashion than others, and some do export terrorism and exercise "power that kills." But other societies, like Thailand, Singapore, Jordan, and Morocco, have authoritarian governments that do not pick on their neighbors, nor are these regimes conspicuously brutal to their subjects. Meanwhile the U.S.—as a "democratic" empire-builder—bullies and cajoles Eastern Europeans into electing "democrats," who often, as in the cases of Hungary and Croatia, were connected

to the Communist secret police but are nonetheless held up as reliable instruments of American globalism. Such guided democracy, John Laughland observes, is seen as indispensable for keeping Europeans insulated against "nationalists." Rummel creates the impression that those who resist this forced re-education will sooner or later commit mass murder. In the more complex world that exists, however, such is not the case.

While Rummel has much to say against political cruelty, his own prescriptions for avoiding it are as questionable as his view of the Euro-American past. Seen through his Manichaeian filter, humanity is divided between good and bad countries with good and bad histories. It is incumbent on the righteous to overthrow and rebuild societies they consider reprobate. Contrary to his stated purpose, Rummel may be goading the dogs of war, and, according to those precursors of modern political theory Thomas Hobbes and David Hume, such creatures are especially troublesome in the hands of popular governments. A retired professor from the University of Hawaii, Rummel fits in with the bacchanalian democrats who celebrate his work at the *Wall Street Journal*. Like them, he seems a sedentary throwback to the Jacobins of the French Revolution, who were equally intent on crushing pre-democratic authority. Thus the Jacobins eagerly slaughtered 30,000 "counter-revolutionaries" on the guillotine and over 100,000 Catholic peasants in Brittany and the Vendée. These mass executions, whose number Rummel not surprisingly understates, included small children.

Like him, the Jacobins were hurrying to advance universal democratic "peace." What the Surgeon General, however, says about cigarettes applies here as well: democratic globalists "can be hazardous to your health." ■

*Paul Gottfried is a professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College and the author of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.*



"If you'd like to press 1, press 3.  
If you'd like to press 3, press 8.  
If you'd like to press 8, press 5."



## The Next Battle: Manufacturing Jobs

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All Manufacturing Jobs NOT Seasonally Adjusted 1,000 of jobs			Job Growth/Decline	
	May, '03	Jan. '01	#	%
New Hampshire.....	82.1	103.6	(21.5)	-20.8%
District of Columbia.....	2.8	3.5	(0.7)	-20.0%
Massachusetts.....	333.2	407.8	(74.6)	-18.3%
Vermont.....	38.4	46.7	(8.3)	-17.8%
Washington.....	265.6	321.7	(56.1)	-17.4%
Colorado.....	156.0	188.2	(32.2)	-17.1%
Maine.....	64.1	77.2	(13.1)	-17.0%
North Carolina.....	615.6	741.1	(125.5)	-16.9%
Arizona.....	174.7	208.6	(33.9)	-16.3%
Oklahoma.....	148.7	174.5	(25.8)	-14.8%
South Carolina.....	279.6	327.7	(48.1)	-14.7%
New York.....	622.0	728.8	(106.8)	-14.7%
Wyoming.....	8.8	10.3	(1.5)	-14.6%
Rhode Island.....	60.7	71.0	(10.3)	-14.5%
Pennsylvania.....	728.9	849.7	(120.8)	-14.2%
Mississippi.....	181.1	211.1	(30.0)	-14.2%
California.....	1,584.8	1,844.7	(259.9)	-14.1%
Alaska*.....	8.9	10.3	(1.4)	-13.6%
Georgia.....	448.1	517.1	(69.0)	-13.3%
<b>US Totals.....</b>	<b>14,727</b>	<b>16,993</b>	<b>(2,266)</b>	<b>-13.3%</b>
Idaho.....	60.6	69.8	(9.2)	-13.2%
Ohio.....	862.9	992.2	(129.3)	-13.0%
Texas.....	918.5	1,055.4	(136.9)	-13.0%
New Jersey.....	358.1	411.3	(53.2)	-12.9%
Virginia.....	308.4	354.1	(45.7)	-12.9%
Illinois.....	735.7	842.7	(107.0)	-12.7%
South Dakota.....	37.5	42.9	(5.4)	-12.6%
Oregon.....	192.3	219.9	(27.6)	-12.6%
Montana.....	18.9	21.6	(2.7)	-12.5%
Connecticut.....	204.6	233.7	(29.1)	-12.5%
Michigan.....	737.9	842.8	(104.9)	-12.4%
New Mexico.....	36.4	41.5	(5.1)	-12.3%
Tennessee.....	415.9	473.0	(57.1)	-12.1%
Florida.....	392.9	445.6	(52.7)	-11.8%
Utah.....	111.1	125.3	(14.2)	-11.3%
Minnesota.....	345.5	389.0	(43.5)	-11.2%
Missouri.....	313.2	352.6	(39.4)	-11.2%
Alabama.....	296.7	333.8	(37.1)	-11.1%
Kentucky.....	268.9	302.0	(33.1)	-11.0%
Arkansas.....	209.5	235.0	(25.5)	-10.9%
West Virginia.....	65.9	73.9	(8.0)	-10.8%
Wisconsin.....	516.1	577.0	(60.9)	-10.6%
Louisiana.....	157.1	175.0	(17.9)	-10.2%
Maryland.....	153.8	170.3	(16.5)	-9.7%
Kansas.....	178.0	196.9	(18.9)	-9.6%
Iowa.....	222.3	245.6	(23.3)	-9.5%
Indiana.....	579.7	633.4	(53.7)	-8.5%
Hawaii.....	15.2	16.6	(1.4)	-8.4%
Delaware.....	34.8	37.9	(3.1)	-8.2%
Nebraska.....	104.7	112.9	(8.2)	-7.3%
Nevada.....	42.6	43.8	(1.2)	-2.7%
North Dakota.....	23.2	23.7	(0.5)	-2.1%

\*Unadjusted January data are misleading in Alaska; change is from May, 2001.  
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# Liar, Liar

I think it's time the neocons acknowledge the debt they owe Baghdad Bob, or Comical Ali, as the British newspapers refer to the onetime Iraqi Information Minister.

It was the comical one, following in Dr. Goebbels's footsteps, who showed us during the brief war in Iraq what denial is all about. (Not a river in Egypt.) Like Bob, now bereft of braggadocio and black beret and feeling rather sorry for himself, the Kristols, Frums, and Podhoretzes of this world are indignantly denying there is any trouble in the paradise we've just conquered. Kristol, on Fox News (for a change) last week, was irked that some of his fellow hacks had mentioned that the government might have exaggerated the threat of WMD and the connection between al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein—"This is ridiculous. There's no scandal. It's only the media that's causing it"—or words to that effect.

Oy veh! Comical Ali lives and is doing well in Washington DC. All wars produce casualties of truth, but since April 9—when President Bush proclaimed the end of hostilities—it is "peace" that's producing the greater casualties, both where truth and our fighting men are concerned.

Speaking of fighting men, poor Private Lynch. Spielberg was ready to start filming how female American soldiers won the war against cowardly Iraqi men. Then the truth emerged. (Some traitor paleocon spilled the beans.) She was not shot by brutal *Fedayeen* but injured in a road accident. What I want to know is what in hell was a woman doing there in the first place? (As some of you may have guessed, I believe in that old-fashioned ideal where the fair sex is con-

cerned: putting women on a pedestal rather than making them fight.) I guess the answer to that question is better a woman than, say, John Podhoretz, but then maybe not. I am told Podhoretz once scared the daylights out of Arnaud de Borchgrave by removing his t-shirt and showing his ample bosoms.

Here's more Comical Ali relief from our very own Baghdad Bobs. A) Saddam's weapons were a clear and present danger (after the Harrison Ford thriller), and we were right to go in. My spies (more paleocon traitors) tell me Saddam's deadly toys could have reached Cyprus, a place known to be inhabited by Nebraskans, Minnesotans, and North and South Dakotans. B) It was gonna be a short war and a very long peace. While our soldiers and Marines are being killed every day, the brave men at Fox are irked that some of us are beginning to

of aiding Saddam, but only with food and vitamins. C) Al-Qaeda and Saddam were thick as thieves, and the latter was about to pass on his WMD to Osama. This is the gravest charge of all. David Frum tells me that Saddam and bin Laden met in Canada, struck a deal, and he has a witness, his wife. D) Last but not least, the rest of the world, we were told by these modern-day Delphic oracles, would fall into line the moment Ramses, sorry, Rumsfeld, drove down Saddam Hussein Boulevard in his armored chariot covered in garlands and cheered on by thousands of Iraqi virgins. Well, I don't know about the virgins, but Wolfowitz went there, and not for the virgins, I am told. The rest of the world is, of course, offering every virgin they can find to the triumphant troika of Bush, Blair, and Prince Rainier (Monte Carlo backed the alliance), but, as in the case of Wolfowitz, there are no takers.

But enough about the Comical Alis of DC. Diplomats were once described as decent men sent overseas to lie for their countries. Journalists, on the other

**DAVID FRUM TELLS ME THAT SADDAM AND BIN LADEN MET IN CANADA, STRUCK A DEAL, AND HE HAS A WITNESS, HIS WIFE.**

doubt their forecasts. Mind you, I am perhaps being too tough on these sofa samurai. Saddam, after all, was ready to nuke us from the uranium Niger was delivering to Iraq via subway trains connecting the two countries. Africa, as we all know, is a very rich continent that exports weapons of mass destruction to Switzerland, Lichtenstein, and Monaco, as well as Iraq. Liberia, too, was guilty

hand, or so I was taught, were not supposed to lie for their governments but to expose the whoppers. Back in 1967, when the Greek colonels had overthrown the legitimate government of King Constantine and ruled by fiat, I was asked by a friend to join the Papadopoulos regime in the Information Ministry. Although a friend of the King, my loathing of the overthrown politicians

was such that I accepted with alacrity. I lasted exactly one press conference.

Nikolaos Farmakis, my immediate boss, was a famous anti-communist and hardliner. Trying to please him, I announced that any foreign journalist criticizing the government would be hanged in Constitution Square within 24 hours. I was joking, but the outraged foreign press corps was not in the mood. Farmakis fired me, and he was also fired forthwith. We are still good friends, however—something the Baghdad Bobs of DC, I predict, will not remain if things go badly in Iraq. I can picture them, like fishwives, screaming and accusing each other in living Fox color.

Once again, oy veh! For obvious reasons—no one has accused the DC Bobs of stupidity, just opportunism—I don't hear too many demands for invading Iran as of late. (We have no troops left. Who will do the fighting? The neocons?) Action against Iran is on the backburner, with Britain strongly against it, although I am reliably told that Monte Carlo might play along. There will be no American ground troops committed to any ground war against the Ayatoilets, but I don't preclude a missile attack against Busheir. Nor do I dismiss American support for the People's Mujihadeen. These would of course serve only to strengthen the fundamentalist hardliners in Iran, but our Baghdad Bobs would be all for it.

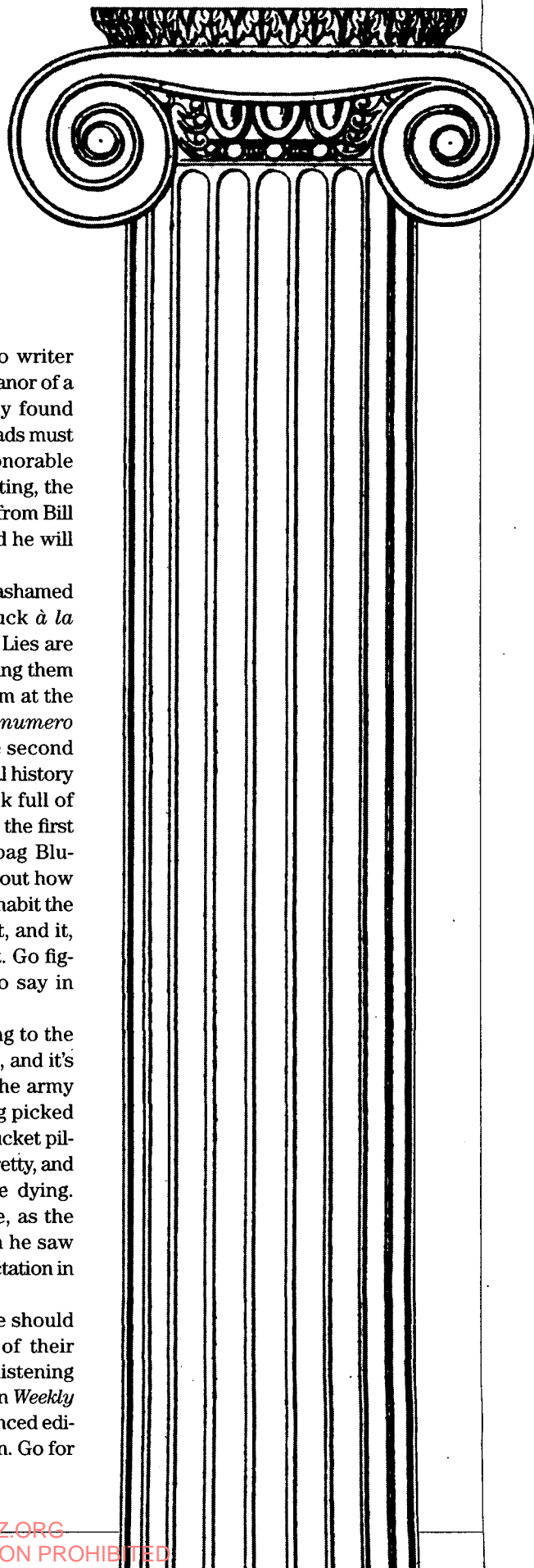
A good and decent man has killed himself in Britain following attacks on his name and reputation. David Kelly was the source who leaked to the BBC that Saddam's weapons of mass destruction were a mirage emanating from Tony Blair's Savonarola, Alastair Campbell. Campbell is Britain's most hated man, a

dour wallet-lifter, an ex-porno writer who sports the dyspeptic demeanor of a prostitute who has mistakenly found herself in a church meeting. Heads must roll over the suicide of an honorable civil servant, but as of this writing, the man who learned to act and lie from Bill Clinton, Tony Baloney, has said he will not resign.

Par for the course. No one is ashamed any more, and passing the buck *à la* Clinton has become the norm. Lies are no longer lies if the person telling them tells us he or she believed them at the time. Hillary Clinton's book is *numero uno* on the bestseller list. The second biggest liar in American political history after Bill Clinton writes a book full of lies, and it goes to number one the first week it's out. Sid The Scumbag Blumenthal writes a lying book about how the two greatest liars ever to inhabit the White House were lied against, and it, too, goes on the best-lying list. Go figure, as honest people used to say in Brooklyn.

The neocons have been lying to the American people from day one, and it's the honest brave soldiers of the army and the Marines who are being picked off daily. The liars and lunch-bucket pilferers of this world are sitting pretty, and our young men are doing the dying. Something is very wrong here, as the Secret Service man said when he saw Monica Lewinsky taking late dictation in the Oval Office.

If things do not improve, we should kick our Baghdad Bobs out of their comfy offices or at least stop listening to their TV rants. The Monrovia *Weekly Standard* is looking for experienced editors and so is Liberian television. Go for it, boys. ■





# ***UA Skilled Technicians Play Vital Role in America's Energy Crisis.***

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